

THE
L I F E
OF
THE RIGHT REV. ~~JEREMY~~ TAYLOR, D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF DOWN, CONNOR, AND DROMORE:

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF HIS WRITINGS.

BY
REGINALD HEBER, D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE unprecedented sale of the late and only COMPLETE Edition of Bishop TAYLOR's Works, and the consequent revival of the popularity of that eminent Writer, are circumstances highly encouraging to the spirit of literary enterprise.

Such patronage has induced the PUBLISHERS to comply with a wish, very generally expressed, for a separate publication of the LIFE, written by Dr. HEBER, now LORD BISHOP of CALCUTTA—a Production not more distinguished by biographical research and discrimination, than by that elegant tone of religious and moral feeling which pervades the whole.

Injustice, however, to the RIGHT REVEREND AUTHOR, it becomes the duty of the PUBLISHERS to inform the Public, that in consequence of his Lordship's early departure to India, the intention of a separate publication of the Life could not be communicated to him. It is therefore a literal reprint, but with the addition of an Index, which may be considered as indispensable in a work where the characters and writings of so many contemporaries pass in review.

ERRATUM.

Vol. i. p. 245, note, *for* (Q'Q.) *read* (RR.)

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ETC. ETC.

THE life of a student is passed within a narrow circle; and of the men whose writings are most widely read and admired, the personal history is often enveloped in the deepest obscurity. Nor, even of those individuals, whom the zeal of their friends or the malice of their enemies have enabled or compelled to act a more conspicuous part on the theatre of contemporary distinction, have the lives been often diversified with many singular events, with great deliverances, or surprising vicissitudes. Their days have been quietly busied in producing those effects which only have made their histories worth inquiring after,—effects for which it was necessary that their habits should be retired and uniform. Nor can we wonder, therefore, that whoever undertakes the biography of a scholar or a theologian, has ordinarily but little to relate which

is certain, and less which is interesting or extraordinary.

In some respects, indeed, the fate of JEREMY TAYLOR was distinguished from the general lot of men of letters. So far from his life being retired or monotonous, he seems to have passed much of it in a crowd; and it is one of the circumstances which lead us most to wonder at the fertility and force of his genius, not only that, in so few years, he wrote so many books, but that these books were, many of them, composed under circumstances the least favourable to research or abstraction.

It was his fortune, at an early age, to attract the notice of those whose patronage, however favourable to his interests or his renown, had a natural tendency to withdraw him from the usual scenes of literary or parochial labour. He was favoured by Laud in the zenith of his power, and trusted by king Charles, when he had become the more venerable from adversity. During the Usurpation, though esteemed and pitied even by his enemies, he was destined to encounter a more than usual share of confiscation and imprisonment; and, at the restoration of the royal family, and while yet in the full vigour of his years and his abilities, he was raised to the highest honours which lie within the compass of his profession. But, during the calamities which agitated an empire, the escapes and sufferings of a private individual were too insigni-

ficant to attract much contemporary fame; and Taylor's sufferings were of the kind which, by impoverishing their victim, removes him still more from the knowledge and notice of the world. His subsequent promotion, though it fixed him in the country where he had found his best asylum, was, in itself, a banishment from the society of public men and the theatre of national politics; and his latter days were spent in the alternate and unobtrusive labours of the pulpit and the closet, in preparing himself and others for that heaven, whither his desires had been from his earliest years directed.

It will not, then, be expected, that, after the lapse of almost two centuries, I shall have been able to supply many interesting details of a life thus spent and thus concluded, or that many important gleanings remain which had escaped the almost contemporary inquiries of Wood, or the accurate industry and zealous researches of Mr. Bonney. Yet the time is not long passed since unusually abundant stores of information existed, and since those stores were in the possession of a person eminently qualified to employ them to the best advantage. The late William Todd Jones, of Homra, in the county of Down, esquire, Taylor's lineal descendant in the fifth degree, and who inherited no small portion of his talents and characteristic eloquence, was employed, at one period of his life, in collecting and arranging materials for the biography of his distin-

guished ancestor. Mr. Jones possessed, among many other interesting documents, a series of autograph letters to and from the bishop; and "a family-book," also in his own handwriting, giving an account of his parentage and the principal events of his life, with comments on many of the public transactions in which he himself, or those connected with him, had borne a share.

But, in the ardour of Mr. Jones's political pursuits, and the frequent pecuniary embarrassments to which those pursuits exposed him, his biographical labours appear to have been often interrupted; and his sudden death, by the overturn of a carriage in the year 1818, cut short all the hopes which his talents and his materials justified. The greater part of his family papers he had, on the sale of Homra to the marquess of Downshire, deposited at Montalto, under the care of the late John, earl of Moira. Their subsequent fate has, unfortunately, not been ascertained. At Donnington, whither all the papers found at Montalto are said to have been transferred, no traces of them remain; and there appears but too much reason to apprehend that they were consumed, together with some other packages belonging to the marquess of Hastings, in the fire which destroyed the London Custom-house. All which the family yet retain consists of some extracts made by Mr. Jones from these documents with a view to his intended work; the marriage settlement

of Taylor's youngest daughter; and some traditions respecting himself and his descendants, which have been liberally communicated to me by Mr. Jones's sisters, Mrs. Wray, and Mrs. Mary Jones.

Small as these remains are, the few facts which they disclose are, perhaps, among the most interesting hitherto recovered concerning bishop Taylor's private concerns. From other quarters, indeed, very little was to be gathered which was new, but I have not knowingly neglected any. The Rev. Mr. Bonney, with a kindness to which I am deeply indebted, and which I had the less reason to expect as I was personally unknown to him, has permitted me to make use of an interleaved copy of his able and interesting Life of Taylor, enriched with many valuable manuscript notes and references. To the active and judicious friendship of the Hon. and Rev. J. C. Talbot, I am indebted, not only for my introduction to bishop Taylor's descendants in Ireland, but for what other gleanings of information or tradition respecting him remained in that kingdom. The archives of All Souls were examined by the kindness of the bishop of Oxford, and my friend, Clement Cartwright, Esq.; and the publishers of this edition have been enabled to procure for me, from the Evelyn Papers, the British Museum, and other sources, seventeen manuscript letters of Taylor, fourteen of which are now first printed. But it cannot be concealed, that, notwithstanding these

advantages, I have still to lament the scantiness and imperfection of my materials; and that in this, as in most other instances, the biography of an author must consist in the account of his writings rather than his actions or adventures.

JEREMY, third son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor,* was born in Trinity parish, Cambridge, and baptized on the 15th of August, 1613. His father was a barber; an occupation which, united as it generally was, with the practice of surgery and pharmacy, was, in the days of our ancestors, somewhat less humble than at present, but which was at no time likely to raise its professor or his children to wealth or eminence. The family, however, had originally held a respectable rank among the smaller gentry of Gloucestershire, where they had possessed for many generations, an estate in the parish of Frampton on Severn; and Nathaniel was the lineal descendant of Dr. Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadleigh, in the county of Suffolk, and chaplain to archbishop Cranmer.†

Of Rowland Taylor, neither the name nor the misfortunes are obscure. He was distinguished among the divines of the Reformation for his abilities, his learning, and piety; and he suffered death

* See Note (A.)

† Letter from Lady Wray to William Todd, Esq. of Castle-martin, dated May 31, 1732, quoted in the MS. of Mr. Todd Jones.

at the stake on Aldham Common, near Hadleigh, in the third year of queen Mary, amid the blessings and lamentations of his parishioners, and with a courageous and kindly cheerfulness which has scarcely its parallel, even in those days of religious heroism.

Dr. Taylor was of sufficient consequence, as an advocate of the new religion, to have excited - against himself, without any additional or private motives, the fiercest hostility of the Romish prelates. We are told, however, that Gardiner, by whose warrant as lord chancellor he was first apprehended, was stimulated in this instance by feelings of avarice as well as bigotry; that he was desirous of appropriating to himself the family estate at Frampton; that, I know not on what pretence, he succeeded in his object after Dr. Taylor's death, and that he had begun to build a mansion on the property, which, at his own decease, he left unfinished.

The family of the martyr were thus reduced to poverty, from which they had the less prospect of emerging by any help or favour of government, inasmuch as, in common with many of those who had most severely felt the iron hand of the Romish hierarchy, they were suspected, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, of an inclination to the rising sect of the Puritans. Yet their poverty cannot have been excessive, since we find Nathaniel

Taylor serving as churchwarden ; an office which, in most parishes, is filled by the wealthiest and most respectable in the middle ranks of life. And it may be mentioned to their honour, that, after two generations of comparative distress, the father of Jeremy Taylor was spoken of by his son, in a letter to his old tutor, Bachcroft, as “ reasonably learned,” and as having himself “ solely grounded his children in grammar and mathematics.”*

I have already taken notice of the unfortunate loss of the documents on which this account chiefly depends. For the fact of their having once existed, the authority of Mr. Jones is sufficient ; and though the testimony of lady Wray is exposed to that degree of doubt which almost always attaches to family tradition, it is as satisfactory a voucher as could be looked for under similar circumstances, and more than sufficient to obtain belief for an account which, in itself, is far from improbable. That Jeremy Taylor had, indeed, some pretensions to gentle blood, may be, to a certain extent, inferred from the armorial bearings which, in an age when such distinctions were less boldly assumed than at present, and when the Heralds' College still retained some vestiges of their ancient authority, were engraved on his seal, still preserved by the Marsh family, and which (with some degree of harmless

* Mr. Jones's MS.

ostentation) are almost uniformly appended to his portraits.* In his works nothing occurs which can either confirm or disprove the traditions of his descendants; though he speaks of Rowland Taylor with deserved commendation in one of his polemical writings,† and appeals to his authority in behalf of the Book of Common Prayer, with something like a filial fondness. I am aware, indeed, that the question is, after all, of no great importance, and that the character of bishop Taylor could derive no additional lustre from a pedigree far more distinguished than that which I have assigned him. But the natural prejudices of mankind incline them to attach a certain degree of weight to the inheritance of talents and virtues; and I was not sorry to discover that the author of the *Liberty of Prophecy* was a descendant of one whose character and sufferings I had long been accustomed to contemplate with veneration.

There is nothing, indeed, more beautiful in the whole beautiful Book of the Martyrs, than the account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor, whether in the discharge of his duty as a parish priest, or in the more arduous moments when he was called on to bear his cross in the cause of religion. His warmth of heart, his simplicity of

* Note (B.)

† Preface to the *Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy*, vol. vii. p. 304.

manners, the total absence of the false stimulants of enthusiasm or pride, and the abundant overflow of better and holier feelings, are delineated, no less than his courage in death, and the buoyant cheerfulness with which he encountered it, with a spirit only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædon. Something, indeed, must be allowed for the manners of the age, before we can be reconciled to the coarse vigour of his pleasantry, his jocose menace to Bonner, and his jests with the sheriff on his own stature and corpulency. But nothing can be more delightfully told than his refusal to fly from the lord chancellor's officers; his dignified, yet modest determination to await death in the discharge of his duty; and his affectionate and courageous parting with his wife and children. His recollection, when led to the stake, of "the blind man and woman," his pensioners, is of the same delightful character; nor has Plato any thing more touching than the lamentation of his parishioners over his dishonoured head and long white beard, and his own meek rebuke to the wretch who drew blood from that venerable countenance. Let not my readers blame me for this digression. They will have cause to thank me, if it induces them to refer to a history, which few men have ever read without its making them "sadder and better."*

At three years of age, Jeremy Taylor is said to have been sent to the grammar school then recently founded in Cambridge under the will of Dr. Stephen Perse, and kept by one Lovering.* The profit, however, which he derived from Lovering's instructions cannot have been great, if, as Taylor himself wrote to the head of Caius, he was "*solely* grounded in grammar and mathematics" by his father. And it is so unusual a thing in his class of life, or, indeed, in any class, to send an infant three years old to a public grammar school, that I am tempted exceedingly to doubt a fact which rests on a single, and, as it appears in another instance, an inaccurate memorandum in the admission book of Caius. If, which is certainly not improbable, he attended Lovering's school at all, he can hardly have remained at it so long as he is there stated to have done.†

When thirteen years old, on the 18th of August, 1626, he was entered at Caius College as a sizar, or poor scholar : an order of students who then were what the "servitors" still continue to be in some colleges in Oxford, and what the "lay brethren" are in the convents of the Romish church. This was an institution which, however it may be now at variance with the feelings and manners of the world, was, in its original, very far from deserving the reprobation which has been sometimes cast on it,

and owed, indeed, its beginning to a zeal for the education of the poor, as well directed as it was humane and Christian. In the time of our ancestors, the interval between the domestics and the other members of the family was by no means great, nor fenced with so harsh and impenetrable a barrier as in the present days of luxury and excessive refinement. As the highest rank of subjects was elevated then at a greater height than they now are above the most considerable private gentry, so the latter constituted a more efficient link in the great chain of society, and a far easier gradation existed between the nobles and that class of men from whom their own domestics were taken. There was, in those days, no supposed humiliation in offices which are now accounted menial, but which the peer then received as a matter of course from "the gentleman of his household; and which were paid to the knight or gentleman by domestics chosen in the families of his own most respectable tenants; while, in the humbler ranks of middle life, it was the uniform and recognised duty of the wife to wait on her husband, the child on his parents, the youngest of the family on his elder brothers or sisters.* But while the subordination was thus perfect and universal, this very universality softened its rigours. The well-born and well-educated retainers of a noble family were admitted by its head to that confi-

* Note (E.)•

dence and familiarity which their rank and attainments justified. The servants of the manor-house were usually the humble friends of the master and mistress, whose playmates they had been during childhood, and under whose protection they hoped to grow old. We have been, most of us, impressed with the tone of equality assumed by the valets of the old French comedy; and the jovial familiarity of Furnace, Amble, and Order, in Massinger's "New Way to pay Old Debts," is a well known, and, probably, an accurate portrait of that species of graduated intercourse which once connected the aristocracy, and the throne itself, with the humblest orders of society, and in the abolition of which it may be reasonably doubted whether all parties are not rather losers than gainers.

But it is evident, that, as with such habits and feelings the mere fact of servitude did not in itself degrade, so there was nothing to prevent well-educated youths from attending their richer neighbours in a menial capacity to Oxford or Cambridge; while there was every possible motive of wisdom and humanity to induce the founders and governors of colleges to admit young men, thus situated, to a share in the instruction afforded by the place, and in the rewards which were held out to the genius or diligence of other scholars. It is easy to declaim against the indecorum, and illiberality of depressing

the poorer students into servants; but it would be more candid, and more consistent with truth, to say that our ancestors elevated their servants to the rank of students; softening, as much as possible, every invidious distinction, and rendering the convenience of the wealthy a means of extending the benefits of education to those whose poverty must otherwise have shut them out from the springs of knowledge. And the very distinction of dress, which has been so often complained of, — the very nature of those duties which have been esteemed degrading, — were of use in preventing the intrusion of the higher classes into situations intended only for the benefit of the poor; while, by separating these last from the familiar society of the wealthier students, they prevented that dangerous emulation of expense, which has, in more modern times, almost excluded them from the university. The institution is now fading fast away; and, even where it exists, is altered from its original character. But the difficulties are proportionably increased which oppose the rise of such men as Taylor from the lowest to the highest ranks of society; and the want of such a frugal and humble order of students is already felt by the church of England, as it eventually may be felt by the nation at large.

At the time of Taylor's entrance at college, he had already, as I have observed, been introduced by his father to an elementary knowledge of the mathe-

matics. Then, as now, if Glanville be believed, (who, with all his voracious credulity, both Platonic, chymical, and spectral, was no inconsiderable person among the scholars and philosophers of the seventeenth century,) a knowledge of the exact sciences was that by which Cambridge was chiefly distinguished, and the surest avenue through which her honours and emoluments were accessible.*

But no evidence remains that Taylor pursued the mathematics to any considerable length, or that he made any progress in that new method of philosophizing, to which the world has since been so greatly indebted. Mr. Bonney, indeed, apprehends that many of his peculiar merits as a writer may be traced to an acquaintance with Bacon's illustrious treatise on "the Advancement of Knowledge." That he had read Bacon I can well believe; for with what work of contemporary genius was Jeremy Taylor likely to be unacquainted? But, though there are abundant proofs in his writings of that familiarity with the Aristotelic logic which Lloyd ascribes to him,† I have not been able to discover a single allusion to those principles which Bacon first laid down, and on which alone the discovery of any new truth is possible. The powers of Taylor's mind were not devoted to the investigation of fresh fields

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, vol. iii. col. 1244. Ed. Bliss.

† Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 702.

of science, or to enlarge the compass of the human intellect, by ascertaining its legitimate boundaries. He was busied through life in defending truths already received, or in clearing away errors by which those ancient truths had been disfigured. His philosophy was almost entirely casuistical. They were not falsehoods, but fallacious reasonings, against which he had to contend; and for this species of dialectic warfare his weapons were to be sought after, not in the new, but in the ancient organon, and among the elder divines and schoolmen. It is no disparagement to Bacon, nor is it inconsistent with the admiration which Taylor may well have felt for him, that he did not apply Bacon's discoveries to an use for which Bacon himself did not intend them.

Whether he received any emolument or honorary distinction from Cambridge, is doubtful. Rust, his friend, and, though not his contemporary, educated at the same university, asserts, that after taking his degree of bachelor of arts in the year 1630-1, he was chosen fellow of Caius College. But we learn from Mr. Bonney, that no evidence of this fact exists (where, if true, it surely must have been recorded,) in the archives of the college and the university. And a further reason will be shortly given for supposing that Rust was mistaken in this particular, or that he was less anxious to discover the truth than to relate whatever reports were likely to

raise the character of his hero. The period, however, was now approaching which introduced the talents and learning of Taylor to a patron well qualified to appreciate and reward them.

Shortly after his becoming master of arts, in 1633, having already been admitted into holy orders,* he was employed by one Ridsen, who had been, according to the academical habits of the time, his chamber-fellow, and who was now lecturer in St. Paul's cathedral, to supply his place for a short time in that pulpit, where his graceful person and elocution, together with the varied richness of his style and argument, and, perhaps, the singularity of a theological lecturer of twenty years of age, very soon obtained him friends and admirers. He was spoken of in high terms to Laud, who had then recently left the see of London for that of Canterbury, and who, with all his faults of temper and judgment, (exaggerated as those faults have been beyond all bounds by the bitterness of the party whom he first persecuted, and who afterwards hunted him to death,) must ever deserve the thanks of posterity as a liberal and judicious patron of that learning and piety, which he himself possessed in no ordinary degree. He sent for Taylor to preach before him at Lambeth, commended his performance

* Comber, *Discourse on the Offices of Ordination*, quoted by Bonney, in his *Life of Taylor*, p. 6, Note.

highly, and only expressed an objection to the continuance of so young a preacher in London. Taylor, with youthful vivacity, "humbly begged his grace to pardon that fault," and promised, that "if he lived he would amend it."* Laud, however, as Rust informs us, "thought it for the advantage of the world that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a course of constant preaching would allow of; and, to that purpose, he placed him in his own college of All Souls in Oxford."

Here again the eulogium of bishop Rust may be charged with abundant inaccuracy and inconsistency. All Souls was not Laud's own college, inasmuch as he had passed his whole academical life at St. John's, the presidency of which society he relinquished when raised to the bishopric of St. David's. Nor had he any further control over, or any closer connexion with All Souls, than that which subsists between every college and its visitor. The reason, too, which is given for Taylor's removal from Cambridge to another seat of learning, is plainly at variance with Rust's own previous assertion that he was already a fellow of Caius. Had this been the case, Rust, himself a Cambridge man, would hardly have denied that a residence in his own university would have afforded him suffi-

* Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 702.

cient "opportunities of study and improvement:" nor could Laud have reasonably expected or counselled Taylor to abandon a maintenance which he already possessed, in order to qualify himself for another situation of the same sort, and little, if at all, more lucrative. But if Taylor were then, as is most probable, a mere scholar of fortune, and unable through poverty to prolong his residence in his own university, it was only natural that his patron should be anxious to remove him to Oxford, where his rank as chancellor and visitor of several colleges gave him abundant opportunities of providing for the object of his favour.

When it was that Laud adopted this plan of befriending Taylor, or what became of the latter in the meantime, it is now too late to discover. If the interview which has been related, took place soon after his arrival in London, it may seem that, however anxious Laud might be to remove him from thence, a considerable time elapsed before he took any successful steps in his favour at Oxford. During this time, perhaps, it was that he pursued his studies, according to a tradition current in that neighbourhood, at Maidley Hall, near Tamworth.* But, be this as it may, it was not till the 20th of October, 1635, that Taylor was admitted to the same rank of master of arts in University College as

he had previously held at Cambridge ; and three days after that, the archbishop wrote a strong letter in his favour to the warden and fellows of All Souls. He there states, that a Mr. Osborn, one of their number, being about to " give over his fellowship," had offered him the nomination of a scholar to succeed him ; that he " being willing to recommend such an one as they should thank him for," was " resolved to pitch on Mr. Jeremiah Taylor ;" and that he " heartily prayed them to give him all furtherance at the next election, not doubting that he would approve himself a worthy and learned member of their society."

What authority Mr. Osborn can have had to dispose in this manner of the nomination to a fellowship which he was himself about to resign, or how he could undertake to influence an election in which he was to have no voice, is not very easy to conjecture, unless we suppose him to have spoken the sentiments of some others among his brethren, who may have desired to pay their visitor the usual compliment of asking his opinion in the choice of a new member of their society. The recommendation, however, forcible as it must have been, was not received with implicit deference, inasmuch as a reasonable doubt existed whether Taylor was strictly eligible. Wood, indeed, is wrong in saying that he was above the age at which he might be chosen ; but the statutes are express

in requiring candidates to be of three years standing in the university, whereas ten days had, at the time of the election, barely elapsed since Taylor had been incorporated into Oxford. It is true that Laud seems to have supposed that his admission "ad eundem," as it entitled him to all the privileges of a master of arts, entitled him to whatever advantages were conferred by that standing in the university, which he must have had in order to take his degree there regularly. And a very great majority of the fellows, either convinced by this argument, or desirous of straining a point in favour of a candidate so deserving and so powerfully recommended, appear to have espoused his cause and to have voted in the first instance for his admission. Sheldon, however, the warden, (afterwards himself archbishop of Canterbury, and a munificent benefactor to the university,) less pliant, or more scrupulous, refused to concur in the election. Under these circumstances, the fellows persisting in their choice, no election at all took place, but the nomination devolved in due course to the archbishop, as visitor of the college, who thus acquired the right of appointing Taylor by his sole authority to the vacant situation, on the 14th of January, 1636.

This appears to be the true statement of a transaction which Wood has considerably misrepresented, as if Laud had, by an irregular and

unwarrantable exercise of authority, intruded Taylor into a college, which was neither disposed nor statuteably able to receive him. It is plain, however, from documents of which Wood had no knowledge, that (whatever may be thought of the propriety of Osborn's conduct, or the validity of Sheldon's objection,) the archbishop had at least a plausible excuse for his recommendation of a candidate; and a ground, whether tenable or not, which might justify his recommendation of Taylor. It is plain that a candidate whom the fellows almost unanimously approved of was not personally disagreeable to them; while (the fellows and warden being at variance on the interpretation of a statute) the decision must naturally and legally have rested with the visitor only. The conduct of Sheldon throughout the affair appears to have been at once spirited and conscientious; but it may have been marked by some degree of personal harshness towards Taylor, since we find that, for some years after, a coolness subsisted between them, till the generous conduct of the warden produced, as will be seen, a sincere and lasting reconciliation.*

Taylor was now in possession of those advantages which his patron had esteemed so necessary for his improvement; a dignified retirement, a decent maintenance, and a free access to books and learned conversation. And we are told by his biographer

Note (E.)

how much he profited by these opportunities, and how much he was admired by the university for his "excellent casuistical preaching."* Unfortunately, however, it appears by the college books, that, during the four years of his remaining a fellow, he was by no means a regular resident; while, of his existing sermons, there are few which can be reckoned casuistical, and only one, the composition of which we have any reason to refer to the time of his Oxford studies. I have not been able to learn at what date he was made one of the archbishop's chaplains, an office which would naturally draw him a good deal away from the scene which he was so well adapted to ornament; but he was, on the 23d of March, 1637-8, presented by Juxon, bishop of London, (probably through the interest of his steady friend, the archbishop,) to the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, which, though tenable with his fellowship, was a still better reason than his chaplaincy for making his residence in All Souls occasional only.†

During this time he is said by Wood to have first become the object of a suspicion, which, however undeserved, continued through life to haunt him, of a concealed attachment to the Romish communion. Such a report was almost sure to be raised at the expense of any man whom Laud esteemed and

* Wood, ubi supra. Lloyd, ubi supra.

† Bonney's Life of Taylor, pp. 14, 17.

promoted. And if Taylor had already adopted his ascetic notions of piety, his profound veneration for antiquity, and his attachment to the picturesque and poetical features of religion, he would be only the more likely to incur a charge which, in a more advanced period of his life, and while contending against the errors of popery, he solemnly declared to have been always unfounded and slanderous.* And if, as Wood assures us, and as is certainly not improbable, he lived at this time on terms of intimate intercourse with a learned Franciscan friar, known by the name of Francis a Sancta Clara, such a friendship, however innocent and creditable to both parties, was, in those days of bitterness and jealousy, sufficient to give confirmation to any rumours of the kind which might be propagated or believed, not only by the puritans, but by the same party among the papists who tempted Laud with a cardinal's hat, and who seem to have flattered themselves that all the more learned and moderate protestants of the age were secretly "tending towards Latium."

This Franciscan, whose real name was Christopher Davenport, but who was also known by the name of Hunt, was in his time an extraordinary person. He was born of protestant parents, and, with his brother John, entered at an early age, in the year

* First Letter to one tempted to the Romish Church, vol. xi. p. 211.

1613, as *battler*, or *poor scholar*, of Merton College. The brothers, as they grew up, fell into almost opposite religious opinions. John became first a violent puritan, and, at length, an independent. Christopher, two years after his entrance at Merton, being then only seventeen years old, fled to Douay with a Romish priest, and took the vows of Francis of Assisi. He rambled for some years through the universities of the Low Countries and Spain; became reader of divinity at Douay, and obtained the degree of doctor. At length he appeared as a missionary in England, where he was appointed one of queen Henrietta's chaplains, and, during more than fifty years, secretly laboured in the cause of his religion. An intimacy with him was one of the charges brought against Laud on his trial; when it appeared that, in fact, he had been introduced to the archbishop by his chaplain, Dr. Augustine Lindsell, as a person engaged in a work on the Operation of God's Grace, and a Defence of Episcopacy.* Laud seems to have paid him but little attention; but Wood informs us that he was much esteemed "by many great and worthy persons;" and he appears to have been a man of sufficient learning and moderation to have given alarm to many of the bigots of his own persuasion, and of sufficient zeal and talent to have served the interests of that

* Note (G.)

persuasion in a most effectual manner. His works, of which a long list is given by Wood, are marked, on the whole, with a conciliatory spirit; and he met with so much of the usual fortune of conciliators as to have his book, entitled “*Deus, Natura, Gratia*,” put into the Index Expurgationis in Spain, and all but committed publicly to the flames in Italy. His merits, however, towards his own church were at length acknowledged, by his being made principal chaplain to the queen of Charles II., and chosen, for many years in succession, provincial of his own order in England. His conversation is described by Wood as free and lively; and he found many friends and a frequent asylum at Oxford, where it was his desire to be buried in the church of St. Ebba, formerly belonging to the Franciscans. He was, however, interred in London, where he died, at a great age, in 1680.*

The friendship of such a man as this could not disgrace Taylor; but when Davenport, as Wood assures us, ascribed to Taylor a regularly formed resolution of being reconciled to the church of Rome, which only failed through the indignation of their party at certain expressions in a sermon preached by him on the fifth of November, 1638, it is most reasonable, as well as most charitable, to impute the assertion to a failure in memory, not

Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. iii. col. 1223. *Church History of England*, vol. iii. p. 103. Brussels, 1744.

unnatural to one so far advanced in years as he must have been when Wood conversed with him.

Thus he tells us, that Taylor being appointed to preach before the university on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason, the then vice-chancellor insisted on his inserting many things so offensive to the Roman Catholics, that his friendship was afterwards rejected by them with scorn, notwithstanding his expressions of regret and penitence for the sentiments which he had been constrained to utter.*

If, however, as Mr. Bonney well observes, "the vice-chancellor had done what was reported, he must have completely remodelled the whole discourse;" which, instead of bearing any marks of such interpolation, is nothing else, from beginning to end, but a connected and consistent chain of argument against the principles of the Roman Catholics, as what must, in their nature, conduct to such effects as the conspiracy of Digby and his associates. Of invective (which a violent person, or one who desired the preacher to sacrifice to the angry feelings of the time, was most likely to introduce into the discourse of another,) there is absolutely no appearance. And as Taylor was not a likely man to compromise his high reputation, or his rank in the university and in the church, by adopting, against his own opinion, the sentiments or

language of another; so, what he had once said and published, he was still less likely to retract in the manner which Wood, on the authority of Davenport, imputes to him. I may add, that there is little in the sermon itself which could have shocked or surprised the Roman Catholics, as proceeding from a professed member of the Protestant church, and master of arts in an English university. Nor is it likely that they, who were not deterred by Laud's controversy with Fisher from expecting the conversion of that prelate, or from persecuting him through life with their fatal friendship, would, on so much slighter an offence, have given up whatever hold of intimacy or influence they had acquired over such a mind as that of Jeremy Taylor.

It has been said that he was appointed to preach the sermon in question by his patron the archbishop. If this were true, it would be still more improbable that, thus appointed, he would submit his composition to the censure of the vice-chancellor. But of this designation there is, in truth, no appearance. The appointment of preachers on such occasions is usually exercised by the vice-chancellor, not the chancellor himself; and the author, in his dedication to Laud, plainly gives us to understand, that "the superior," in obedience to whose commands he embarked in the work, was not the same with him to whom he inscribed it when published. "It pleased some," he says, "who had the power to

command me, to wish me to the publication of these my short and sudden meditations, that, if it were possible, even this way I might express my duty to God and the king. Being thus far encouraged, I resolved to go somewhat further, even to the boldness of a dedication to your grace, that, since I had no merit of my own to move me to the confidence of a public view, yet I might dare to venture under the protection of your grace's favour." And he goes on to allege several different reasons for the propriety of inscribing such a work to the archbishop, without once mentioning (what, if it were true, would have been the best reason of all,) that it was by Laud's own command that he had undertaken the discussion of the subject.

Of this earliest production of Taylor's genius, the defects and merits may be the subject of future investigation. I will here merely observe, that the former are those of the time at which he lived, and are, themselves, chiefly defects as being out of their place, and as less proper for a solemn discourse than a popular harangue or a polemical pamphlet. The latter are almost exclusively his own; and if we have less of that splendid strain of eloquence which, in his later works, has left him without a rival, it will not be denied that in his earliest sermons are many blossoms of genuine power and beauty, which continued meditation and longer practice might be

reasonably expected to ripen into fruits worthy of Paradise.

Ascetic as Taylor was in many of his opinions, celibacy appears to have formed no part of his plan of life; nor does he seem to have attached so much value to the learned leisure of an university, as to have been inclined to linger there after a new and important scene of action and duty was elsewhere opened to him. I have already observed, that, from the date of his institution to Uppingham, he was but little resident in All Souls; and he now, at an earlier age than is usual with literary men, took a step which was to separate him from his fellowship entirely.

On the 27th of May, 1639, being then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, he married, at Uppingham, Phœbe Landisdale, or Langsdale, of whose family little else is known than that her brother was a physician, established first at Gainsborough, and afterwards at Leeds, where he was buried January the 7th, 1638.* Of Phœbe's mother, though not of her father, mention is made in one of Taylor's letters; and from this circumstance, as well as the daughter's being married at Uppingham, it is probable that she was a widow residing in that parish.

By Phœbe Langsdale, Taylor had three sons, one

* Bonney's MS. Note.

of whom, William, (so named, in all probability, after his great patron, Laud,) was buried at Uppingham on the 28th of May, 1642; nor did the mother long survive her infant.* The other boys grew up to manhood, and their melancholy deaths were among the last and most grievous trials of Taylor's eventful pilgrimage.

This year, 1642, was marked, however, by many public as well as private sorrows; and, in the great struggle which was now begun, he ably and courageously contended on the side both of episcopacy and monarchy. He appears to have been among the first to join the king at Oxford, where shortly after, he published, "by his majesty's command," his treatise of "Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali and Aćrians, new and old;" "encouraged," as Heylin tells us, "by many petitions" to the same effect "to his majesty and both houses of parliament."† But, though it was natural that the outrageous proceedings of the presbyterian party should have produced a considerable revulsion in the national feeling, and though the work itself is well adapted to profit by and strengthen such a disposition, it is probable that men's minds were, by this time, too generally made up to leave them inclination or leisure for the study of controversy; and the fact that the treatise remained without an

* Jones's MS. Bonney, p. 18.

† Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 465.

attempt at reply from the other party, is a probable argument that it was less read than it well deserved to be.

To such rewards, however, as the king and church had to bestow, Taylor had no common pretensions; and we find him admitted, on the first of November in this same year, with many other eminent loyalists, by the royal mandate, to the degree of doctor of divinity. The distinction, however, was considerably lessened by the indiscriminate manner in which similar honours were then bestowed; inasmuch as the unfortunate monarch, having few other ways in his power of rewarding the services of his adherents, created, about the same time, his doctors and masters of arts with so much profusion, as to call forth a remonstrance from the heads of houses against a practice which threatened to destroy the discipline, the dignity, and even the revenues of the university.*

The Presbyterians had more power to hurt than Charles to reward: and it was, probably, about this time that the rectory of Uppingham was sequestered; a fact which is certain from the joint authority of Walker and Lloyd, no less than from all which is known of Taylor's subsequent poverty. The date of his deprivation, however, or the name of his intrusive successor, I am not able to supply.

Neither Walker, Calamy, nor Clarke, throw any light on the subject; and though the bishop of Peterborough has, with much kindness, examined for me the register's office of that diocese, no information appears there, or in the parish books of Uppingham, which can add any thing to the facts already collected by Mr. Bonney. Of course neither Taylor, nor any of the deprived clergy, relinquished their claims to the livings of which they were despoiled; but as their places were, in every instance, filled up without loss of time by the ruling party, it is something remarkable that no record remains of the institution of the intruder, his incumbency, or his expulsion on the return of monarchy and episcopacy. The name of Daniel Swift only once occurs (on the 20th of April, 1652,) as choosing a churchwarden, and signing himself "Pastor de Uppingham;" and there is not the smallest appearance, during the following years of Taylor's life, that he received any part of that pittance which the clergy, presented to livings by the parliamentary commissioners, were enjoined to pay to their expelled predecessors.*

He had obtained, however, a wealthy and powerful patron in Christopher Hatton, Esq., afterwards lord Hatton of Kirby, who had been his neighbour at Uppingham, and to whom his Defence of Episco-

* Bonney, p. 31, Note.

pace, as well as many other of his earlier works, are dedicated ; “ a person,” Clarendon tells us, “ who, when he was appointed controller of the king’s household, possessed a great reputation, which, in a few years, he found a way to diminish.”*

It is always difficult to determine the real character of a public man, between the widely varying statements of his friends on one side, and his enemies or rivals on the other. The same lord Hervey who was the Sporus of Pope’s tremendous satire, is extolled by Middleton, in all the exuberance of elegant flattery, as the last of the Romans, the bravest, the best, and most eloquent of mankind. Nor is it easy to find a more splendid character in history than is ascribed by the hope or gratitude of Taylor to the nobleman of whom the historian speaks thus slightly. It was not, indeed, till the present age, that men of letters appear to have completely broken through that debasing custom which made excessive eulogium and affected humility essentials in the addresses of authors to the great and wealthy. Yet Hatton cannot have been destitute of learning or of talents, since in him Taylor found opinions congenial to his own on the subject of toleration, and since it was at his suggestion, and with his assistance, that Dugdale undertook his *Monasticon*.†

* Clarendon, *Hist. Rebell.* vol. ii. 156. Oxon.

† Note (I.)

Of Taylor's history, during the remainder of the civil war, we are very imperfectly informed. Wood speaks of him as a frequent preacher before the court at Oxford, and as following the royal army in the capacity of chaplain, till, on the decline of the king's cause, he sought an asylum in Carmarthen-shire. The following letter, however, represents him, at the close of the year 1643, living, for a time at least, with his mother-in-law and children, and oppressed, as should seem from some of his expressions, by those pecuniary difficulties which, during by far the greater part of his life, continued to pursue and harass him. The silence observed respecting his wife confirms lady Wray's statement, that he had buried her before he quitted Uppingham. For the rest, it serves to show how constantly his attention was directed to the spiritual welfare and improvement of those with whom he was connected. The original letter is in the British Museum.—

“DEARE BROTHER, — Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr. Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse. Though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that

thou be infinitely [careful] to perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along upon thy spirit all thy life-time. For that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it,) till, at the same time, I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time, but your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition you should not have beene troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally. So doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

“Thy most affectionate and endeared Brother,”

“November 24, 1643.”

“JER. TAYLOR.”

“To my very dear Brother, Dr. Langsdale, at his
Apothecary's House in Gainsborough.”

This letter is without any mention of the place whence it was written; but the notice which occurs of Royston, who was a bookseller and printer in Ivy Lane, and who published most of Taylor's later works, would naturally lead us to suspect that its

writer was then in London. This is, however, altogether at variance with Wood's statement, unless we suppose that, for some reason which cannot now be discovered, he discontinued his attendance on the royal person at a far earlier period than "the decline of the royal cause." Next year, however, we find him in Wales, and again attached to a portion of the army, since Whitelock mentions a Dr. Taylor (and Jeremy Taylor is the only person of that name and degree whom I have been able to discover among the royalists) as a conspicuous prisoner, (the only one, indeed, whose name he notices,) in the victory gained by the parliamentary troops over colonel Charles Gerard, before the castle of Cardigan, on the 4th of February, 1644.* And I am inclined to suspect, that the cause which drew him away from the royal army was love; that he had formed an attachment to the lady who afterwards became his second wife, during the first visit of king Charles to Wales; and that he married her, and retired to her property, soon after the date of his letter to Dr. Langsdale, though the evils of war, extending themselves into the most remote and peaceful districts, again, in a very short space of time, involved him in their vortex. Something of this kind is plainly intimated in the dedication to his *Liberty of Propheying*; and the passage itself

* Whitelock, *Memoir*, p. 130. For my knowledge of this curious passage, I am indebted to a MS. Note of Mr. Bonney.

is worth transcribing, not only for the spirit of poetry which it breathes, but as giving us almost all the information which remains as to the troubles of Jeremy Taylor.

In it, he tells his patron, Lord Hatton, that, "in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here," he continues, "I cast anchor; and, thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. *Οἱ γὰρ Βάρβαροι παρεῖχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῖν· ἀνάφαντες γὰρ πυρὰν, προσελάβοντο ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΗΜΑΣ, διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψυχρός.*"

That a voluntary retreat from the more busy scenes of war and politics; that a subsequent exposure to the same interruptions, with more than their

usual share of attendant misfortune ; that the help of friends and the forbearance of enemies, are here spoken of, is sufficiently evident. But the Greek quotation from the Acts of the Apostles (for which, by the way, those generous enemies whom he praises, had they understood it, would have scarcely thanked him,) implies, at least, that he had many fellow-sufferers in that particular danger to which he alludes. Nor can I find any defeat of the loyalists in the neighbourhood of his Welch retirement which so well tallies with these different circumstances as that which Whitelock has recorded. The Liberty of Propheying was, indeed, not published till 1647 ; but for the probable duration of his imprisonment, the time necessary to collect his books, and, in the midst of those avocations on which his livelihood depended, to prepare for the press such an essay as that to which he chiefly owes his fame, would account for a far longer interval between his becoming a prisoner and the date of that work, than the hypothesis on which I have ventured supposes.

Nor can I consider it as inconsistent with this opinion, that, during this same year, 1644, there appeared at Oxford his edition of the Psalter, with Collects affixed to each Psalm ; and that a Defence of the Liturgy, which he afterwards improved into a larger work,* was also published, and honoured by

* See Dedication to an Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy, vol. vi. p. cclxxix.

the approbation of king Charles. On the contrary, the supposition of his being, at this time, in the enemy's hands, will account for that which is otherwise not easy to explain, why, contrary to his usual practice, the latter of these came out anonymously, and the former under the name of Hatton. If this last measure were intended to gratify his patron's vanity, it would be a trick discreditable to both sides; though to Taylor, in his deep poverty and burthened with a family, much might be forgiven. But, while yet a prisoner, there might be some reason for his abstaining from publishing any thing in his own name, though even this would hardly justify Hatton in appropriating to himself the work of another.*

How long Taylor remained a prisoner, and on what terms, and by whose interest he was released, there are now small hopes of discovering. I would gladly have recorded, with some degree of certainty, the names of those generous enemies from whom he received so much unexpected kindness. All which is known on this subject is, that colonel Laugharn, governor of Pembroke Castle, was the chief parliamentary officer about this time in South Wales; and that colonel Broughton, colonel Stephens, Mr. Catching of Trelleck, and Mr. Jones of Uske, are named by Rushworth as the committee for that district. It is to these gentlemen, therefore, or to

* Note (J.)

some among them, that the Christian world is indebted for their humanity to one of its brightest ornaments. Such instances of individual gentleness and forbearance occur like bright and insulated spots in the gloomy annals of most civil wars; but an Englishman may recollect with gratitude, and some degree of honest pride in his own nation and ancestors, that more such are, perhaps, to be found in the records of our own troubles than in those of any other contest of equal length, and embittered by so many different circumstances of religious and popular hatred.

When Taylor was once in Wales, it was not likely he would rejoin the royal army, even supposing him released from his confinement or his parole, before the success of that army became desperate by the secession of the king, and his surrender of himself to the Scottish forces. I am not, however, of opinion, that he had now taken a last leave of his unfortunate master. In August 1647, the chaplains of the imprisoned monarch were again allowed, for a time, free access to him: and it appears, that, at a late period of Charles's misfortunes, Taylor had an interview with him, and received from him, in token of his regard, his watch, and a few pearls and rubies, which had ornamented the ebony case in which he kept his Bible.*

Being now deprived of all church preferment, he supported himself by keeping a school, which he carried on in partnership with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyat, who subsequently obtained the rank of prebendary of Lincoln. Their success, considering their remote situation and the distresses of the times, appears to have been not inconsiderable. Newton Hall, a house in the parish of Lanfihangel, which they jointly rented, is dignified by Wyat, in his Latin epistle to lord Hatton, which will be shortly noticed, with the title of "*Collegium Newtoniense*;" and Wood tells us of "several youths most loyally educated there, and afterwards sent to the universities."

Of their scholars, however, none are now remembered but Judge Powell, who bore a distinguished part on the trial of the seven bishops; Richard Peers, an Irishman of mean extraction, but who is mentioned by Wood among the list of Oxford writers; and a certain Griffin Lloyd, Esq. of Cwm-gwilly, who has thought it worth while, as Judge Powell has also done, to record on his tomb that he was educated under Taylor and Nicholson.* Nor have I been able to ascertain how long their partnership continued, though it certainly was dissolved long before the restoration of the royal family, and even before Taylor's departure from Wales.

Of this establishment, accordingly, the most

* Note (K)

remarkable fruit with which we are acquainted, is, "A New and Easy Institution of Grammar," which appeared in 1647; to which are prefixed two epistles dedicatory, the one by Wyat, in Latin, which has been already noticed as addressed to lord Hatton; the other in English, by Taylor himself, to Christopher Hatton, his patron's eldest son, then a youth of fifteen, afterwards raised by Charles the Second to the dignity of a viscount, and made governor of Guernsey. This address is in the usual style of his writings, devout, affectionate, and eloquent. The work which it introduces (though pompously panegyricized in a copy of Latin verses by a certain F. Gregory, who appears to have been an under-master at Westminster,) was probably the work of Wyat rather than of Taylor, and though well adapted to its purpose, is not of a nature to add materially to the reputation of either.

It was followed, shortly after, by the most curious, and perhaps the ablest of all his compositions,—his admirable "Liberty of Prophesying;" composed, as he tells his patron, lord Hatton, in the epistle dedicatory, under a host of grievous disadvantages; in adversity and want; without books or leisure; and with no other resources than those which were supplied by a long familiarity with the sacred volume, and a powerful mind, imbued with all the learning of past ages.

Of the work thus produced, an account will be

given hereafter. Of its importance and value at the time of its first appearance, some opinion may be formed by recollecting, that it is the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then, by every sect alike, regarded as a perilous and portentous novelty.

There is abundant proof, indeed, in the history of the times in which Taylor lived, and of those which immediately preceded him, that (much as every religious party, in its turn, had suffered from persecution, and loudly and bitterly as each had, in its own particular instance, complained of the severities exercised against its members,) no party had yet been found to perceive the great wickedness of persecution in the abstract, or the moral unfitness of temporal punishment as an engine of religious controversy. Even the sects who were themselves under oppression exclaimed against their rulers, not as being persecutors at all, but as persecuting those who professed *the truth*; and each sect, as it obtained the power to wield the secular weapon, esteemed it also a duty, as well as a privilege, not to bear the sword in vain.

Under such circumstances, it was absolutely necessary for Taylor to guard against misrepresentation or misconception; to admit, as he has done in his epistle to lord Hatton, repeatedly and ex-

pressly, the expedience of suppressing,• even by force, such religious opinions (if any such there were) as taught sedition or immorality, and to prove that the exclusion of the secular weapon from our Christian warfare was not inconsistent with the employment of all peaceable and charitable means of refuting error, and of bringing back, by fair argument and good example, to the sheepfold of our Divine Master, our deceived or deceiving brethren.

But, notwithstanding this eloquent apology, the Liberty of Prophesying inculcated a doctrine too entirely at variance with the practice and prejudices of Taylor's age, to escape the animadversions of his contemporaries. A copy of the first edition, which now lies before me, has its margin almost covered with manuscript notes expressive of doubt or disapprobation ; and the commentator, whoever he was, has subjoined at the end of the volume " *Taceo metu,*" and " *Vobis dico non omnibus.*" His arguments, more particularly in behalf of the Anabaptists, were regarded as too strenuous and unqualified ; and the opinions of the author himself having consequently fallen into suspicion, he, in a subsequent edition, added a powerful and satisfactory explanation of his previous language, and an answer to the considerations which he had himself advanced in apology for the opinions of those sectaries.

That Taylor was most sincere in his belief of the

propriety and efficacy of infant baptism, he has shewn in the sixth and seventh discourses of his "Great Exemplar," which he, in the first instance, published separately, in the year 1655, as a corrective to the mischief which he was supposed to have done by his previous admissions; accompanied by a preface, in which he refers the reader, for fuller satisfaction, to the labours of his friend, Dr. Hammond, on the same subject.

Hammond, indeed, had himself, though with much courtesy and kindness of expression, undertaken to answer the precise arguments employed by Taylor, in his "Letter of Resolution to six Queres of present use with the Church of England." He there, under the head of the Baptizing of Infants, describes the collection of Presumptions against ~~Pseudo~~-baptism contained in the Liberty of Prophecy, as "the most diligent he had met with," and as "so impartially enforcing the arguments of his adversaries, that he knew not where to furnish himself with so exact a scheme, and that therefore, on that one account, he should choose to follow the path which his friend had traced before him."*

Hammond and Taylor well knew each other's worth. They were, for a few years at least, fellow-students. They together, in the worst of times, obtained, by unshaken loyalty and piety unimpeached, the respect of their political and religious

opponents; and they were so perfectly trusted by the loyalists, that they were made the joint channels for dispensing those contributions which were privately raised, to a large amount, for the persecuted clergy of the church of England.*

How well Hammond, in his controversy with Tombes, as well as in the work already noticed, performed his part as advocate for Pædo-baptism, it is unnecessary here to notice. Of Taylor's exertions in the same good cause, I can give no better proof than the weight which is ascribed to his testimony by a writer who has discussed those unfortunate controversies which have recently arisen on baptismal regeneration, with a wisdom, a discrimination, and a conciliatory temper, which can hardly be surpassed, and which have been too little imitated.†

Of those who, in Taylor's own day, attacked the leading principle on which the Liberty of Prophecy-ing was founded, the most considerable, and the only one whose name has descended to the present times, though rather as the mark of one of Milton's satirical arrows, than for any of those particulars which excited the respect and deference of his Calvinistic contemporaries, was Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity in the university of St.

* Life of Hammond. Wordsworth's Eccles. Biography, vol. v. pp. 375, 376, and Note.

† Quarterly Review, vol. xv. p. 491.

Andrew's. He produced, in 1649, "A Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience," which Taylor never noticed so far as to answer, but which appears to have been one, at least, of the causes which led Milton, who is said to have always admired Taylor, and whose zeal for toleration was as unlimited and as consistent as Taylor's was, to insert the name of Rutherford in the contemptuous diatribe to which I have alluded.*

An attack of a different kind has, in later times, been made on the Liberty of Prophesying, arraigning not the principles of the work, but the motives and sincerity of the author in maintaining them. He has been represented as arguing, not from his own personal conviction, but as an advocate, and to serve the temporary ends of his party; since, though a churchman, he was a dissenter when the Liberty of Prophesying was written. "He was then," proceeds the writer from whose work this charge is taken, "pleading for toleration to episcopacy." He must either have written what he did not himself fully believe, or, in a few years, his opinion must have undergone a wonderful change. With the return of monarchy, Taylor emerged from obscurity; wrote no more on 'the Liberty of Prophesying;' *and was a member of the privy council of Charles the Second*, from which all the persecuting edicts against the poor nonconformists proceeded. It deserves to

* Note (L.)

be viewed, therefore, as the special pleading of a party counsellor, or the production of Jeremy Taylor, deprived of his benefice and the privileges of his profession, imploring relief; of which bishop Taylor, enlightened by the elevation of his episcopate, and enjoying, with the party, security and abundance, became ashamed, and, in his own conduct, published the most effectual recantation of his former opinions or sincerity.* And, on this supposed tergiversation of Taylor, the writer proceeds to ground the sweeping censure, that "it is vain to look for liberality or forbearance from the members of an establishment."

With the logical accuracy of the vulgar maxim, "ex uno disce omnes;" or with the degree of Christian candour which the above application of it exhibits, I have, at present, no concern; though it is possible that Mr. Orme would be displeased, and I am sure he would have sufficient right to be so, if I had reasoned, like him, from the faults or inconsistency of any single individual, to the prejudice of all the other members of the Independent persuasion. But I am only concerned with his charges against Jeremy Taylor; and am anxious, therefore, to inform him—what he might have easily learned for himself, and what it was his duty to have inquired into, before he brought such a charge as persecution against the fair fame of any man,—that though

Orme's Life of Owen, London, 1820. p. 102.

bishop Taylor was a nominal member of the *Irish* privy council, there is no reason whatever to suppose that he took a part in the measures of any administration; that the administration of Ireland did not, in fact, during the reign of Charles the Second, persecute the dissenters; that Taylor had not even an opportunity of concurring in the severe measures of the English government; and that no action of his life is known which can justly expose him to the suspicion of having been a persecutor himself, or having approved of persecution in others. That he did not write *any more about Liberty of Prophesying*, while his former work was in every body's hands, and while its principles remain unanswered, is no very serious charge against a man whose time was, in many other ways, abundantly occupied. But, that he was not ashamed of his former treatise on this subject, is apparent from the fact, that it appears in a prominent situation in the successive editions of his controversial tracts; of which one, the second, was published when he was actually bishop, and amid the recent triumph of his party. Nor, though there are, unquestionably, some passages in the *Liberty of Prophesying* where Taylor speaks, rather as urging what may be said in behalf of the more obnoxious creeds, than as expressing his own opinion, can I conceive that an intelligent and candid reader will find any difficulty in distinguishing between such passages and those where he

pleads (with every appearance of the deepest and most conscientious conviction) the common cause of all Christian sects under persecution. That, in so doing, he might be animated with the greater zeal by the circumstance that his own sect was thus unhappily situated, I am neither obliged nor inclined to deny. Nor do I conceive that this circumstance alone would lead a candid mind to suspect his sincere belief of those general principles on which he proceeds ; or his anxiety, that not the church of England alone, but all other Christian communions, should be partakers in the benefit of his arguments. Had it been otherwise, indeed, he would rather, as an artful advocate, have applied himself to the palliation of the particular differences existing between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, than have offended the prejudices of these last, in the pride of their new-blown success, by advancing principles which they were so little prepared to receive, and encumbering his cause with the patronage of those sects, who were the objects of still greater abhorrence and alarm than his own persecuted communion.

The truth is, however, that, if we consider the moment at which the Liberty of Prophesying appeared, and consider also, not only the spirit of mutual concession which it breathes, but the principles on which it rests, and the natural consequences which flow from them, we shall perceive

that the Presbyterians were not the only party for whose instruction it was designed, and that its object was to induce not only an abatement of the claims which they were then urging on the king, but a disposition on the king's part, and on the part of his advisers among the episcopal clergy, to concede somewhat more to those demands than their principles had as yet permitted them. The circumstances of the times, in 1647, were such, indeed, as to offer a greater probability than at any former period of the war, that moderate counsels would prevail, and that an arrangement of mutual toleration might be adopted, which would preserve the kingly government, and heal, in a certain degree, the religious feuds of the nation. King Charles was removed from the custody of the parliamentary commissioners to what were supposed the more indulgent hands of Cromwell and the army. His person was treated with far greater respect than formerly. His chaplains were allowed to officiate in his presence according to the English Service Book ; and all parties were so situated, that it seemed the interest of all to court him. The parliament and the army were at open variance ; and the two prevailing sects, the Presbyterians and Independents, were scarcely less incensed with each other than with the episcopal clergy. Even these last were not yet universally ejected from their benefices ; and the force of private character, the fame of extensive learning,

and, perhaps, the ties of blood and friendship, were of sufficient weight, till this year, to protect Hall in his episcopal palace at Norwich, and Sanderson and Hammond in their public situations at Oxford*. All which seemed wanting to an accommodation was, to convince the several parties that the points in question were those on which they might conscientiously give way to the opinions or prejudices of their brethren; and that, so far from being bound to destroy each other's persons, they might meet in the same places of worship, and conform to that government, and those rites (whichever of the contending parties should be most favoured in them), which might be agreed on by the king and parliament.

That this was Taylor's own opinion, and that he desired his arguments to take effect on all the different parties of the nation, is apparent, I think, from the fact of his having dedicated this work to so strenuous a high churchman as Hatton, as well as from the anxiety which he expresses, not only that persecution for religious opinions might cease, but that contention about them might be suspended; that the churches of Christ should be distinguished by no other names than those of the nations in which they were established; and that each church might

* Hume, chap. lix., and Note (C.) Bishop Hall, *Hard Measure*. Wordsworth's *Biography*, vol. v. p. 316, et seq. *Ibid.* pp. 363, 439.

receive to its bosom men of various opinions, even as that Heaven of which the Christian church ought to be the living image. And it is evident, that, if his arguments had produced their due effect on both sides, the main obstacle would have been removed to a treaty between the king and his people; a grievous dissension healed in the churches; and not only the Episcopalians relieved from their immediate oppressions, but the opposite party preserved from those severities which, on the restoration of kingly power, were most unwisely exercised against them. Meanwhile (and the observation will be found of some importance to justify Taylor's consistency), it plainly followed from his principles, that, in points of themselves indifferent, (even granting that it might be tyranny to impose a rule,) it was causeless rebellion to resist a rule already imposed; and it followed also, (which was still more important under the peculiar circumstances of the times,) that concession and moderation were to be expected at least as much from those who desired a change, as from those who were content with the forms and institutions of their ancestors.

Of Taylor's domestic concerns during this interval we know very little. I have already expressed my suspicions that a second marriage was the cause of his withdrawing from the king's service; and it is certain that this event must have taken place before the period of which I am writing, since, of

his three daughters, the youngest was married (as appears by the settlement) in 1668.

This second wife was a Mrs. Joanna Bridges, who was possessed of a competent estate at Mandinam, in the parish of Llanguedor, and county of Carmarthen. Her mother's family is unknown; but she was generally believed to be a natural daughter of Charles the First, when Prince of Wales, and under the guidance of the dissipated and licentious Buckingham. That the martyr's habits of life, at that time, were extremely different from those which enabled him, after a twenty years' marriage, to exult, while approaching the scaffold, that, during all that time, he had never, even in thought, swerved from the fidelity which he owed to his beloved Henrietta Maria, there is abundant reason to believe; nor are the facts, by any means, incompatible. The former, indeed, rests chiefly on the authority of Mr. Jones's papers; but the circumstances which he mentions are in part corroborated by the marriage settlement of bishop Taylor's third daughter, now lying before me, in which Joanna Taylor the elder, described as his widow and executrix, settles on her daughter the reversion of the Mandinam property; while the existence of such a property and mansion is confirmed to me by the testimony of my kind and amiable friend, archdeacon Beynon. I regret to state, however, that, from the mutilated condition of the parish register at Llanguedor, and from the present circum-

stances of the Mandinam property, his exertions have failed to procure me any further information as to Joanna Bridges, or her maternal ancestors. She is said, in lady Wray's letter, to have been brought up in much privacy by some relations in Glamorganshire; to have possessed a very fine person, (of which, indeed, her portrait, yet preserved by the family, is a sufficient evidence); and, both in countenance and disposition, to have displayed a striking resemblance to her unfortunate father.

But, notwithstanding the splendour of such an alliance, there is no reason to believe that it added materially to Taylor's income. We have seen him, after his first imprisonment, compelled to keep school for his subsistence. From the manner in which, when writing both to Evelyn and Hatton, he speaks of his "shipwreck," it is probable that he was not released from the consequences of his enterprise at Cardigan without a heavy amercement of his wife's estate; and, as his school seems to have been broken up by his repeated imprisonments, his chief support must have been his literary labours, and the kindness of his numerous friends.

Of these, the most eminent in rank was Richard Vaughan, earl of Carbery, whose seat at Golden Grove was in the same parish where Taylor's lot was thrown, and whose bounty and hospitality, during several years, appear to have been his chief dependence and comfort. Though now chiefly remembered

as Taylor's patron, Vaughan was a man of abilities, and, in his day, of high reputation. He had served with distinction in the Irish wars, for his conduct in which he had received the Order of the Bath: he had been the principal military commander on the king's side in South Wales*; and he received, after the Restoration, the English title of lord Vaughan of Emlyn, together with the appointment of lord president of Wales and privy counsellor. His character seems to have been mild and moderate; and though a loyalist, he had many friends among the opposite party. In consequence, after the fatal battle of Marston Moor, he was easily admitted to compound for his estates by the parliamentary commissioners; and was thus in a situation which enabled him to befriend more effectually such persons of his side as had been less favourably dealt with. He married twice. The first wife was Frances, daughter of Sir John Altham of Orbey, a woman of whom Taylor has drawn, in her funeral sermon, a picture which, making all allowance for the occasion on which it was preached and the gratitude of the preacher, belongs rather to an angelic than a human character. The second was Alice, eleventh daughter of John Egerton, first earl of Bridgewater, and remarkable as being both the subject of much elegant eulogium from Taylor, and the original of the

“ Lady” in Milton’s *Comus**. In the friendship of this family Taylor found a happy asylum; and it was within their walls, and to their family and immediate neighbourhood, that, when the churches were closed against his ministry, he delivered his yearly course of sermons.

The next in succession of his literary labours was the “ *Apology for Authorised and Set Forms of Liturgy against the Pretence of the Spirit;*” the appearance of which, in its first and imperfect state, has been already noticed, and which was followed, in a very few months, by a work of greater bulk, and far more extensive popularity, (the first, perhaps, of his writings which was speedily and widely popular,) “ *The Life of Christ; or the Great Exemplar.*”

Of the three parts into which this splendid work is divided, each has a separate dedication; an engine of harmless flattery, which Taylor was too grateful, or too poor, to omit any fair opportunity of employing. The first is inscribed to his friend, lord Hatton, and the second to Mary, countess of Northampton; whose husband, Spencer Compton, earl of Northampton, had, as it appears from some of Taylor’s expressions, been engaged, at the time of his death, (which took place in the battle at Hopton Heath, on the royal side,) in a work of a similar character. The third, in the first edition, was dedi-

cated to Frances lady Carbery ; and, after her death, another dedication was added, in the third edition, to her successor, the lady Alice Egerton.

All these dedications are in Taylor's characteristic manner. The last was, perhaps, the most difficult to compose ; and he has contrived in it, with great and singular felicity, to offer, at the same time, his congratulations to the living lady Carbery, and to express his regrets for her deceased predecessor. While he compliments his present patroness on her own personal advantages, he calls her attention, in a solemn and affecting manner, to the duties of her new situation ; and he avows, with courteous frankness, that her chief claim, thus early in their acquaintance, on his own affection and prayers, was her being " in the affections of her noblest lord, successor to a very dear and most excellent person ; designed to fill those offices of piety to her dear pledges, which the haste which God made to glorify and secure her, would not permit her to finish ;" and " to bring new blessings to that family, which was so honourable in itself, and, for so many reasons, dear to him."

In the dedication to Hatton, the duty of obedience to the " king" is mentioned in a manner which has led Mr. Bonney to believe that the Great Exemplar must have been written, though not published, before 1648, while Charles the First was yet alive. He forgets that the king of England never

dies, and that a loyalist like Taylor regarded Charles the Second as his sovereign, though, at the time, under adversity and in exile.

There is, however, another expression in this dedication, by which I am myself considerably perplexed. Taylor, at the end, entreats lord Hatton to "account him in the number of his *relatives*." Does this mean merely his *friends*, or *dependents*?—or is it to be understood, in the usual sense of the word, and as Taylor, in other places, employed it, to denote an alliance by blood or marriage?—An alliance by blood we can hardly suppose; but one by marriage is not impossible. But to ascertain the fact, it would be previously necessary to ascertain the maternal relations of Taylor's second wife, who, of the two, is most likely to have been connected with the Hattons.

The extensive popularity of the Great Exemplar appears to have co-operated with Taylor's natural averseness from controversy, to determine the character of his next publications.

His works, during three successive years, were entirely of a devotional or practical character; consisting of a Sermon on the Death of the excellent lady Carbery; to which is subjoined a long Latin inscription, probably not intended for her monument, but to be affixed, as usual in those days, to her coffin, while lying in state;—a short Catechism for Children;—his 27 Sermons for the summer half-

year;—and his Holy Living and Dying;—the two last of which had been composed at the desire, and for the use of his late patroness, and are inscribed to her afflicted husband.

Controversy, however, was not entirely to be avoided; and, in 1654, the insulting triumph of some Roman Catholics over the fallen condition of the English church, provoked him to re-examine the leading points of difference between the two communions, and produced the “Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation;” and dedicated to Warner, bishop of Rochester, a worthy and a wise man, who, even in the times of general distress, continued, from his scanty means, to assist the still deeper poverty of Taylor, and by whose counsels, as will hereafter appear, it had been well, in one instance, if the latter had been more implicitly guided.

The church of Rome might be offended with impunity; but Taylor’s zeal for episcopacy about this time involved him with a more formidable adversary. He had, during this year, expanded his “Catechism for Children,” already noticed, into the beautiful Manual which, in honour of the hospitable mansion of lord Carbery, he has entitled “the Golden Grove.” This he now published, with a preface, which, though ostensibly calculated (and perhaps intended) to conciliate the Protector in favour of the persecuted

church* of England, as friendly to established governments, and more particularly to *monarchy*, contained many expressions which were likely to provoke, to the utmost extent, both the Presbyterian and Independent clergy, and some which Cromwell himself might reasonably conceive insidious or insulting. He was accordingly committed to prison; in what month, or at what place, I have not been able to ascertain. Our whole knowledge of the fact is, indeed, derived from a letter from the amiable John Evelyn, of Says Court, dated February 9, 1654; in which, while the writer expresses the anxiety which he had felt on the news of his friend's calamity, he congratulates him on being again at liberty*.

When, and under what circumstances, his acquaintance with Evelyn had commenced, does not appear. The latter speaks of himself as one of his auditors, in a church in the city, on the 15th of April, 1654, but with no indication that he was at that time particularly interested in him. During this spring, however, the acquaintance was improved into a nearer and more confidential intimacy. Taylor having visited London, we find Evelyn, on the 18th of March, one of a congregation of Episcopalians, to whom he preached a sermon on sins of infirmity and their remedy; and, on the 31st of the same month, Evelyn paid him a visit, "to confer with

* Note (M.)

him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as his ghostly father*." His friendship, indeed, and his liberality, were, from this time, among the chief sources of Taylor's happiness; since, besides the remarkable agreement which Evelyn expressed with all Taylor's religious sentiments, and the countenance and comfort which the latter derived from the support of one so distinguished for station, loyalty, and piety, his wealth appears to have been administered with no sparing hand, for the support of his confessor and his family.

Taylor's troubles, however, were not yet concluded. On the 18th of May there is another letter from Evelyn, written in great and evident distress of mind, and under the apprehension of an approaching persecution, in which he pretty plainly intimates that the person whom he addresses was again in custody, and in which he urges him to publish something for the comfort and guidance of the devout laity, who, by the loss of their faithful and orthodox teachers, were deprived of all outward means of grace, not only in the case of preaching and the common prayer, but of the orderly administration of the sacraments†. This letter did not reach Taylor, to all appearance, for several months after it was written. It certainly was not answered

by him till the January following; and had probably the same fate with other letters which passed at the same time through Royston's hands, being detained by him under the impression that a captive would not be allowed to receive it.

Of this second confinement, the scene was, I apprehend, in Chepstow Castle. Its cause does not appear. It can hardly have arisen from the same publication which had already been visited on him with a similar sentence; and Mr. Bonney's conjecture, that he was suspected of being engaged in the unfortunate and ill-contrived insurrection of Penruddock and Groves, in 1654, as it rests on no authority, is rendered improbable by the fact that, subsequent to the suppression and punishment of those unfortunate gentlemen, he was, as we have seen, at large, and exercising his ministerial functions in London. To some supposed connexion with their enterprise, the previous imprisonment which I have noticed, and which, till the publication of Evelyn's *Memoirs*, was unknown and unsuspected, might be, with greater likelihood, ascribed. And it is certainly not improbable, that though the ground alleged, and, perhaps, the immediate occasion of that severity, might be the expressions in his *Golden Grove*,—yet the usurping government may have been led to notice such expressions, contrary to Cromwell's usual and courageous neglect of "paper pellets," by the dangers of the times, and the cha-

rafter of Taylor as an able and distinguished loyalist. It is, however, tolerably certain, that either no connexion existed between him and the insurgents at Salisbury, or that none such was discovered by the government; since he would, in that case, hardly have escaped so well as with a few months' confinement.

Even his second imprisonment at Chepstow was neither severe nor long. In the letter to Warren, published with his *Deus Justificatus*, he says, "I now have that liberty that I can receive any letters, and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so they are civil to my person*." His amiable manners, no less than his high reputation for talents and piety, seem, at all times, to have impressed and softened those who were, from political and polemical considerations, most opposed to him. And there is also room to suspect, that the estate of his wife was again drawn on largely to conciliate the ruling powers; and that these last were content to grant some degree of freedom to a learned and holy man, whom they had reduced to almost abject poverty.

Neither imprisonment nor poverty, however, had power to cramp the fertility of Taylor's genius, or to deter him from the expression of his sentiments,

* Answer to a Letter touching Original Sin, vol. ix. p. 365.

though at the risk of offending those whose good opinion was most valuable to him. Besides completing his *Ενιαυτος*, or Series of Sermons for the whole year, by the addition of the twenty-five discourses which, though last published, stand first in the volume, he produced, at the beginning of the present year, his "Unum Necessarium: or, the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance; describing the necessity and measures of a strict, a holy, and a Christian life, and rescued from popular errors."

In this work he had, as its title implies, expressed himself concerning the nature of original sin, and the extent of man's corruption, in a manner, if not unprecedented and unwarrantable, at least at variance with the opinion of Christians in general, and more particularly of the Protestant churches; and he appears to have felt, and not without reason, considerable anxiety as to the manner in which his work would be received by them. From the Calvinists he neither expected nor wished for approbation; but, in order to conciliate the favour or soften the opposition of the members of his own communion, a single dedication did not appear sufficient. Besides an epistle to lord Carbery, he has introduced his treatise with a preface inscribed to the bishops of Salisbury and Rochester, and the rest of the clergy of the church of England, in which he strenuously, though with many expressions of humility and submission to his spiritual

superiors, exculpates himself from the charge of heresy, or of holding language inconsistent with the liturgy and articles of religion*.

The apology thus made was not, however, thought sufficient. The letters from Evelyn, already referred to, though they prove that Evelyn himself was a convert to his friend's opinions, prove also that a considerable alarm was excited among the orthodox clergy, not only by the supposed danger of the doctrine thus advanced, but by the scandal to which their persecuted church would be exposed, if the charge of Pelagianism, so often brought against it, should receive support from the writings of one of its most distinguished champions. Warner addressed him in a private letter of expostulation and argument, of which we now know nothing except through the answer. The venerable Sanderson, too, (who, though honoured and courted by the ruling party, had relinquished, for conscience sake, the chair of regius professor of divinity in Oxford,) though he had by this time abandoned the high Calvinistic interpretation of the articles which in his earlier life he had defended, is said to have deplored, with much warmth, and even with tears, this departure from the cautious and scriptural decision of the church of England; and to have bewailed the misery of the times, which did not admit of sup-

* Preface to the Clergy of England, vol. vii. p. ccliv.

pressing, by authority, so perilous and unseasonable novelties.

The good old man had, perhaps, never read—it may be thought, at least, that he had not greatly profited by the perusal of—the “*Liberty of Prophesying*.” But it would be putting too harsh a construction on his words to apprehend that, by the authority which he invoked, he meant the *civil* sword; or that he desired to employ against Taylor any other weapons than those spiritual censures which every religious community has a right to exercise against its erring members. Be this as it may, it was fortunate for Taylor that persuasion and argument were the only engines in the professor’s power; and these he sought for in two letters to Thomas Barlow, then fellow of Queen’s College, Oxford, and librarian of the Bodleian, afterwards Sanderson’s own successor in the see of Lincoln, whom he exhorted, with much earnestness, though without success, to undertake the refutation of Taylor’s error*.

Taylor, in the meantime, was not idle in his own defence. While a prisoner at Chepstow, he produced the “*Further Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin*,” which now constitutes the seventh chapter of the “*Unum Necessarium*,” but was at

* Barlow’s Letter to Walton. Life of Sanderson. Worth, Eccl. Biog. vol. v. p. 513. Kennet’s Register, p. 633.

first published separately, with the dedication to the bishop of Rochester, which still accompanies it.

This tract, indeed, he in the first instance submitted to the inspection, correction, or suppression of the prelate to whom it is inscribed, in a letter, hitherto unpublished, the autograph of which is now before me. Warner (as appears from an almost illegible and very imperfect draught of his answer on the back) expressed himself, perhaps with reason, still unsatisfied; and refused to revise a work, which, in fact, was a reinforcement of the previous offensive position. The offer, however, is at least an evidence, that, if Taylor were wrong, he was not unwilling to be instructed, and that the error of his opinions was not rendered more offensive by a self-confident and dogmatical temper. With such a disposition, he might *err*, but he could hardly be an *heretic*. The letter is as follows:—

“ RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

“ MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I wrote to your Lord. about a fortnight or three weekes since, to wth. letter, although I believe an answer is upon the road, yet I thought fitt to prevent the arrival of by this addresse; together with which I send up to Royston a little tract, giving a further account of that doctrine which some of my brethren were lesse pleased with. And although I find, by the letters of my friends from thence, that the storme is over, and

many of the contradictors professe themselves of my opinion, and pretend that they were so before, but thought it not fit to owne it, yet I have sent up these papers, by which (according to that counsel which your Lor^d. in your prudence and charity was pleased to give me) I doe intend, and I hope they will effect it, [to] give satisfaction to the church and to my jealous brethren: besides, possibly, they may prevent a trouble to me, if peradventure any man should be *tam otiose negotiosus* as to write against me. For I am very desirous to be permitted quietly to my studies, that I may seasonably publish the first three books of my Cases of Conscience, which I am now preparing to the presse, and by which, as I hope to serve God and the church, so I doe designe to doe some honour to your Lor^d., to whose charity and noblenesse I and my relatives are so much obliged. I have given order to Royston to consigne these papers into your Lor^d.'s hands, to peruse, censure, acquit, or condemne, as your Lor^d. pleases. If the written copy be too troublesome to read, your Lor^d. may receive them from the presse, and yet suppress them before the publication, *si minus probentur*. But if, by your Lor^d.'s letters, which I suppose are coming to mee, I find any permission or counsel from your Lor^d. that may cause me to alter or adde to what is sent up, I will obey it, and give Royston order not to post so fast, but that I may overtake him before these come abroad. But I was upon

any termes willing to be quit of these, that I might no longer suffer or looke upon any thing that may retard my more beloved intendment.

“ My Lord, I humbly begge your blessing upon

“ Your Lor^d.’s most obliged and most affectionate and thankful Servant,

“ Mandinam, November 17, 1655.” “ JER. TAYLOR.”

From this letter it appears that he was already released from prison, and at his wife’s house of Mandinam. And since, from his published answer to Warner, annexed to the “ *Deus Justificatus*,” it is certain that he was still in Chepstow Castle about the middle of September, we may, probably enough, state the duration of his confinement from May to October inclusive. Nor is this the only interesting fact which this letter gives us to understand. It represents him as already considerably advanced in the composition of his “ *Ductor Dubitantium* ;” and proves to us, through how many years of his life, and with what a devoted earnestness, he was employed on the work to which he looked forward as the surest pledge of his future celebrity. Nor, when we recollect the far greater popularity enjoyed by his devotional works over this favourite product of his genius and industry, can we avoid some painful reflections on the short-sighted estimate often formed by the best and wisest of mankind, as to the celebrity and utility of their different labours.

The following letter to Evelyn, which has been published by Dr. Bray, was, probably, also written from Mandinam. The letters to which it is an answer do not appear.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“ HONOUR'D AND DEARE S',—Not long after my coming from my prison, I met with your kind and friendly letters, of which I was very glad, not onely because they were a testimony of your kindness and affections to mee, but that they gave mee a most welcome account of your health, and (which now-a-dayes is a great matter) of your liberty, and of that progression in piety in which I doe really rejoyce. But there could not be given to mee a greater and more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety and care, than that you passe to greater degrees of caution and the love of God. It is the worke of your life, and I perceive you betake yourselfe heartily to it. The God of heaven and earth prosper you and accept you!

“ I am well pleased that you have reade over my last booke: and give God thanks that I have reason to believe that it is accepted by God and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their owne reproovers, and truth will be assisted by God, and shall prevaile, when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I

have the honour to be an advocate for God's justice and goodnesse, and that y^e consequent of my doctrine is that men may speake honour of God, and meanely of themselves. But I have also this last weeke sent up some papers, in which I make it appeare that the doctrine which I now have published was taught by the fathers within the first 400 years; and have vindicated it both from novelty and singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, and now further explicated and justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious and prudent persons, who doe not love to goe *quà itur*, but *quà eundum est*. S^t, you see how good a husband I am of my paper and inke, that I make so short returnes to your most friendly letters. I pray be confident, that, if there be any defect here, I will make it up in my prayers for you and my great esteeme of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readinesse to serve you with all the earnestnesse and powers of,

DEARE S^t,

“ Your most affectionate friend and servant,

“ November 21, 1655.”

“ JER. TAYLOR.”

This is a pious and eloquent letter; but there are some parts of it which should serve as a caution to all religious disputants. Whatever may be

thought of his peculiar opinions, there are few who will venture to assert that such a man as Taylor either embraced them rashly, or professed them without sincerity, or was negligent in his applications to the throne of grace for celestial light and assistance. The doctrines, however, are, it will be readily allowed by most men in the present day, (as it was seen and deplored by the wisest and most learned theologians of the age in which Taylor lived,) irreconcilable with the articles of the church which he loved and honoured, and contrary to the plain sense of those Scriptures which were his consolation and his guide. It is even probable that he would never have entertained them, had it not been for the monstrous and dangerous glosses with which the truth had been obscured by Augustine and his followers; by which our nature, instead of being "*very far* gone from original righteousness," is represented as become utterly diabolical, and the gracious remedy provided for the disease of all mankind is confined to a few favoured individuals.

Yet these doctrines, which appear to most of us, as they doubtless appeared to Taylor, so offensive to reason, and so unworthy of the Deity, were maintained by men as wise, perhaps, and certainly as holy, as Taylor himself; who, on their parts, regarded with horror his denial of absolute predestination, and of the doctrine that infants unbaptized were immediate objects of God's anger. Such con-

siderations should not only lead us to think charitably of the persons with whom we differ, but should warn us against a too hasty condemnation of their opinions. They should warn us against supposing the reverse of wrong to be right; and should endear to us still more the moderation, the discretion, and the humility, with which, on these awful and most mysterious subjects, our own excellent and apostolic church has expressed herself. There is yet one caution more. Taylor, as the reader will have seen, was confident in the truth of his hypothesis, from the persuasion that it manifested the goodness and justice of God, and taught men to "speake honour of God, and meanelly of themselves." It is probable that, on these very same grounds, the most vehement of his adversaries were prejudiced in favour of Calvinism. The inference is plain, that, though it be sufficient cause to reconsider most diligently and most jealously whatever opinion appears to us or to others to militate against our natural notions of fitness and general analogy of the Divine perfections,—yet, is it wise, in all such cases, to suspect that our own perceptions may be erroneous, our own reasoning inconsequent; and that it becomes us to believe of God, not so much what we may think worthy of him, as what he has himself revealed concerning his nature and his actions.—As a commentator on Scripture, as a guide to the interpretation of Scripture, our reason is most useful and most necessary; but Scripture, and

Scripture only, is the rule of faith; and that is the perfection of reason which leads us to adhere most closely to the only guide which, in all necessary points of belief, is infallible.

It appears that Evelyn, during the early part of the winter, renewed his application to Taylor, that he should undertake some work adapted to the use of Christians when deprived of a regular ministry, and the sacraments which a regular ministry only can, ordinarily, dispense with efficacy. It appears, indeed, that the former letter had been overlooked by Taylor, in the pressure of his troubles and his studies, till now a second time recalled to his mind, since "the distich on the departed saint" is plainly that which is given in Evelyn's letter of May, 1655.

Some other correspondence, besides that which has been already noticed, and to which Taylor alludes, as containing the "vile distich on the departed saint," must, at all events, have passed, since Taylor, in the following letter, speaks of Evelyn's apologies for troubling him, and his offers of pecuniary assistance. The Birkenhead whose repartee he mentions, was, probably, John Birkenhead, author of the "*Mercurius Aulicus*." The letter is now first given to the public.—

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"St. Paul's Convers. 54.

"DEARE S',—I perceive by your symptoms how the spirits of pious men are affected in this

sad catalysis: it is an evil time, and we ought not to hold our peace; but now the question is, who shall speake? Yet I am highly persuaded, that, to good men and wise, a persecution is nothing but a changing the circumstances of religion, and the manner of the formes and appendages of divine worship. Publike or private is all one: the first hath the advantage of society, the second of love. There is a warmth and light in that; there is heate and zeale in this; and, if every person that can, will but consider concerning the essentials of religion, and retaine them severely, and immure them as well as he can with the same or equivalent ceremonies, I know no difference in the thing, but that he shall have the exercise, and, consequently, the reward of other graces, for which, if he lives and dies in prosperous dayes, he shall never be crowned. But the evils are, that some will be tempted to quit their present religion, and some to take a worse, and some to take none at all. It is a true and a sad story; but *oportet esse haereses*, for so they that are faithful shall be knowne; and I am sure He that hath promised to bring good out of evil, and that all things shall co-operate to the good of them that feare God, will verify it concerning persecution. But concerning a discourse upon the present state of things in relation to soules and our present duty, I agree with you that it is very fitt it were done, but yet by somebody who is in London, and sees the personal neces-

sities and circumstances of pious people. Yet I was so far persuaded to doe it myselfe, that I had amassed together divers of my papers useful to the worke; but my Cases of Conscience call upon me so earnestly, that I found myselfe not able to beare the cries of a clamorous conference. S^r, I thank you for imparting to me that vile distich of the dear departed saint. I value it as I doe the picture of deformity or a devil; the art may be good, and the gift faire, though the thing be intolerable; but I remember, that when the Jesuits, sneering and deriding our calamity, shewed this sarcasme to my lord Lucas, Birkenhead, being present, replied as tartly, 'It is true our church wants a head now; but if you have charity as you pretend, you can lend us one, for your church has had two and three at a time.' S^r, I knowe not when I shall be able to come to London; for our being stripped of the little reliques of our fortune remaining after y^e shipwrecke, leaves not cordage nor sailes sufficient to beare me thither. But I hope to be able to commit to the presse my first bookes of Conscience by Easter time; and then, if I be able to get up, I shall be glad to wayte upon you; of whose good I am not more sollicitous than I am joyful that you so carefully provide for it in your best interest. I shall only give you the same prayer and blessing that St. John gave to Gaius; 'Beloved, I wish that you may be in health and prosper;' and your soule

prosper; for so, by the rules of the best rhetorike, the greatest affaire is put into a parenthesis, and the biggest businesse into a *postscript*. S^r, I thanke you for your kind expressions at the latter end of your letter: you have never troubled mee, neither can I pretend to any other returne from you but that of your love and prayers. In all things else I doe but my duty, and I hope God and you will accept it; and that, by means of his own procurement, he will, some way or other (but how I know not yet), make provisions for mee. S^r, I am, in all heartinesse of affection,

“ Your most affectionate friend and
minister in the Lord Jesus,

“ JER. TAYLOR*.”

Taylor's poverty, however, was either not so great as he, at this moment, apprehended it would be, or the kindness of his friends enabled him to enjoy, much sooner than he had expected, the happiness of their society. His acknowledgments to Warner, in the letter already given, and the letter which now follows, to Sheldon, are proofs that he had other friends besides Evelyn, both anxious, and, in some degree, able to render him pecuniary assistance. Sheldon, it will be recollected, as warden of All Souls, had opposed Taylor's election to a fellowship. It is pleasing to find them now reconciled. The letter is

* Evelyn's Papers, ined.

without date ; but the amount of the progress which the writer professes to have made in his *Ductor Dubitantium* forbids us to place it later*.

“ TO DR. SHELDON.

“ DEAR SIR,—I received yours, dated November 5, in which I find a continued and enlarged expression of that kindness with which you have always assisted my condition and promoted my interest. Two debts you are pleased to forgive me ; one of money, the other of unkindness. I thank you for both ; but this latter debt was contracted when I understood not you, and less understood myself ; but I dare say there was nothing in it but folly and imprudence. But I will not do it so much favour as to excuse it. If it was displeasing to you then, it is much more to mee now that I know of it.

“ Sir, I will be sure, by the grace of God assisting me, that Mr. Royston shall pay in ten pounds to your nephew, Mr. Joseph Sheldon, before Candlemass. If you please in the interim to send to him the bond, or any other power to discharge me, you will much oblige me. But, Sir, I desire that, by a letter from you to me, you will be pleased, on receipt of that money, to disoblige and free my duty and conscience, for that is the favour and the peace I desire in this particular. Sir, I am to thank you for

* This letter was copied by Dr. Birch into his *Collection of Letters*. Brit Mus. MSS. Donat. 4162. art. 19.

the prudent and friendly advice you were pleased to give me in your other letter relating to my great undertaking in *Cases of Conscience*. I have only finished the first part yet; the præcognita and the generals. But in that and the remaining parts I will strictly observe your caution. Sir, though it hath always been my fortune to be an obliged person to you, and [I] now have less hope than ever of being free from the great variety of your endearments, yet I beg of you to add this favour, — to think that I am all that to you which you can wish, save only that I cannot express how much I love and how much I honour you. Sir, I beg also your prayers, and the continuance of your kind affection to,

“DEAR SIR,

“Your most affectionate and obliged

“Friend and servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.”

From whatever quarter he obtained the means of his journey, it is certain, however, that Taylor visited London; for, on the 12th of April, he dined with Evelyn at Sayes Court, in company with Berkeley, Boyle, and Wilkins, and occupied with them in the discussion and examination of philosophical and mechanical subjects*. Of this visit, he, four days after,

* See below, Note (P.)

speaks with lively and natural delight in the following letter ; in which, however, as will be observed, while complimenting the taste of his friend, he does not forget to mingle Christian caution and rebuke with his felicitations.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“ April 16, 1656.

HONOUR'D AND DEARE S', — I hope your servant brought my apology with him, and that I already am pardoned, or excused in your thoughts, that I did not returne an answer yesterday to your friendly letter. S', I did believe myselfe so very much bounde to you for your so kind, so friendly reception of mee in your *Tusculanum*, that I had some little wonder upon mee when I saw you making excuses that it was no better. S', I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, and found all your circumstances to be an heape and union of blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy and opinion of the prettinesse of your aboad, or so low an opinion of your prudence and piety, as to thinke you can be any wayes transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one month's possession ; and that strangers, and seldome seers, feelee the beauty of them more than you who dwell with them. I am pleased, indeed, at the order and the cleannesse of

of style, though by no means sufficient to lead us to attribute the two works to the same author. The preface, indeed, of the "Artificial Handsomeness" expressly assures us, that this last was not only occasioned, but chiefly composed, by a lady,—an assertion which has been thought to be belied by the style of the composition and the learning which it displays. The latter, I confess, does not appear to me extraordinary, or, in that learned age, such as might not, very probably, have been attained by many well-educated females. It chiefly displays itself in a readiness in quoting the Scriptures; in a familiarity with the popular ascetic writers of the day, and in a few references to ancient fathers; to which, it may be observed, the fair disputant was guided by the very arguments of those English divines whom she endeavours to prove mistaken. Still, however, it has not the appearance of a woman's composition; though I must repeat, that a far less extent of learning, than was possessed by Jeremy Taylor, was competent to all the authorities and illustrations on which so much stress has been laid, and which have been supposed so plainly to designate him as the author.

In 1662, however, while Taylor was yet alive, another edition appeared, with the initials on the title-page, "J. T., D.D.," which Kennet (whose critical acumen is, indeed, good for nothing, but who is a competent evidence as to the general

opinion*which prevailed in his time,) supposes to stand for "Jeremy Taylor, Doctor of Divinity*;" and it is also certain that Taylor employed the same signature in the title-page to the first edition of his beautiful Essay on Friendship.

Lastly; in the epistle-dedicatory, prefixed to the third edition, in 1701,—it is described as the work of "a late learned Bishop,"—while Anthony Wood, who, though like Kennet, utterly without taste or critical discrimination, was, still more than him, a diligent collector and careful examiner of literary history, has inserted it, without any apparent scruple, in his list of Taylor's writings. And many considerable modern critics have been induced, by these reasons, and by the supposed striking similarity of its style to that of his acknowledged works, to support his claim to it with a confidence and zeal which, under other circumstances, I should hardly have thought myself justified in opposing.

On the other hand, it may be observed, that it was by no means an unexampled deception in the booksellers of the seventeenth century to affix, without sufficient authority, or even against their better knowledge, the names of eminent persons to works of which those persons were altogether guiltless. Though Taylor was alive in 1662, he was then in Ireland, and little likely to interest himself in the

* Kennet's Register, 787.

refutation of a charge which, if he ever heard it, he, perhaps, would think ridiculous.

Wood is not consistent with himself in placing this work among his writings; since he elsewhere, with equal confidence, ascribes it to Gauden; and my friend, Mr. Bliss, whose authority is deservedly eminent on all such questions, is disposed to take the credit, such as it is, away from both, and to class it among the productions of Obadiah Walker*.

On the resemblance or dissimilarity of style, when the subject is so different from those which, in other instances, have employed Taylor's genius, it would be unsafe to give a positive opinion. The whole treatise is, undoubtedly, an ingenious piece of special pleading in a bad and foolish cause; and it is distinguished by a vivacity of diction and illustration which, though it is in some degree a characteristic of all the satirical writings of that age, may not unfrequently remind the reader of the language of Taylor's controversial treatises. But, for the occasional bursts of passion and sublimity which, in his avowed works, flow from him as if in spite of himself; for the ardent piety which was inherent in his hourly thoughts and lightest expressions; for the strains of affecting eloquence, with which he is ever anxious to draw men from questions of less importance to practical devotion and holiness: we may search throughout the "Arti-

* Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, vol. iii. col. 790.

ficial Handsomeness" in vain. Nor are these the strongest arguments against supposing him its author. That which with me weighs most of all, is found in the subject of the work itself, which is a formal defence of painting the face, a practice obviously inconsistent with the ascetic opinions to which he was through life inclined, and one which he himself, with perhaps too great severity, has classed in his "Holy Living," in the same category with "singular and affected walking, proud, nice, and ridiculous gestures of the body, lascivious dressings," and the other least equivocal arguments of a worldly and immodest character. "Menander in his comedy," (he elsewhere observes,) "brings in a man turning out his wife from his house, because she stained her hair yellow, which was then the beauty.

Νοτ δ' ἴπν' ἀπ' ὕμνον τῶνδ' τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ
Τὴν τῶρεσσ' οὐ δὲ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποισιν.

A wise woman should not paint. A studious gallantry in clothes cannot make a wise man love his wife the better.

"Εἰς τοὺς τραγικοὺς χρήσιμα, οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον, said the comedy. Such gaieties are fit for tragedies, but not for the uses of life.

" Indeed, the outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking: but she that hath a wise husband, must entice him to an eternal cleanness, by the veil of modesty and the

grave robes of chastity, the ornament of meekness, and the jewels of faith and charity. *She must have no fucus but blushings*, her brightness must be pure, and must shine round about with sweetness and friendship, and she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies. If not,

———— Καθάνισα δὲ κείνην
 'Οὐδέ τις μαρμαίρει σίδερον ἰσχυρὸν,
 'Οὐ γὰρ μετρίχης ῥέδω τὰν ἐν Πύρρῳ.

“Her grave shall be full of rottenness and dishonour, and her memory shall be worse after she is dead*.” Who will, after this, believe that Jeremy Taylor can have become the patron of ceruse and antimony?

On the whole, however, as a report certainly began to prevail in his life-time, that he was the author of this whimsical treatise, I am inclined to account for this report, by ascribing its composition to some one, whose intimacy with him was such, as to render it likely that he had seen and revised it in the manuscript, or even that he had been an agent in transmitting it to the printer. Nor can I fix on any hypothesis more likely, or which accords so well with the declaration prefixed to the first edition, as that it was the work of Katherine Philips, who was, as will be hereafter shewn, the *Orinda* of Taylor's friendship, and who had sufficient opportu-

* Holy Living, vol. v. p. 105. Sermon on the Marriage Ring, p. ii. vol. v. pp. 277, 278.

nity of studying his style to produce even a better imitation than appears to me to be afforded by the dialogue under consideration. To say the truth, I little care who may have written it, provided it does not pass for Taylor's*.

The chastening hand of Providence was not yet withdrawn from Taylor's domestic comforts, as appears from an affecting letter which, though the copy in the British Museum has no superscription, I am strongly inclined, from the internal evidence which it displays of intimacy between the parties, no less than the mention of Mr. Thurland which occurs in it, to consider as also addressed to Evelyn.

“ DEARE SIR,—I know you will either excuse or acquit, or at least pardon mee that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a returne to your so kind and friendly letter; when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted mee deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small poxe and feavers among my children; and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boyes; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before Easter, and then I hope to waite upon you, and by your sweet conversation and other divertisements, if not to alleviate my sorrow, yet, at least, to entertain myself and keep

* Note (1)

me from too intense and actual thinkings of my trouble. Dear S^r, will you doe so much for mee as to beg my pardon of Mr. Thurland, that I have yet made no returne to him for his so friendly letter and expressions. S^r, you see there is too much matter to make excuse; my sorrow will, at least, render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But, for myself, I bless God, I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure, highly pleased with thinking how infinitely sweet his mercies are when his judgments are so gracious. S^r, there are many particulars in your letter which I would faine have answered; but, still, my little sadnesses intervene, and will yet suffer me to write nothing else: but that I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be,

“ DEARE AND HONOURED SIR.

“ Your very affectionate friend and
hearty servant,

“ Feb. 22, 1654.”

“ JER. TAYLOR.”

In this letter, the style and sentiments of which are so characteristic, that there can be no doubt of its authenticity, there are some particulars which call for further notice. The two children whom he here mentions as taken from him “by small pox

and fevers," must, in all probability, have died since the former whose loss he deplored in his letter to Evelyn, of July 19,—inasmuch as, in that letter, he does not mention (what he would probably have done had the disease been the small pox,) the infection, or danger of infection of any other person of his family. The tradition, likewise, of the neighbourhood of Golden Grove (as I am assured by archdeacon Beynon,) concurs with the express statement of Rust in his funeral sermon, in stating that Taylor, before his departure from Wales, lost *three* children in the course of a few months. It is, however, not a little perplexing that Taylor here speaks of himself as having "only one son left," while, on the other hand, the letter from his granddaughter, Lady Wray, to which I have already more than once referred, states positively that she had "two uncles," who were the sons of her grandfather by his first marriage, and that both of them lived to manhood; while she is equally positive in stating that their mother died at Uppingham. These are points in which she could hardly have been mistaken; and I know no better or more probable way of reconciling them to this letter, than by supposing that the two sons by his first wife, were at this time separated from him and with their mother's family, and that the children whose death he laments, as well as the surviving son whom he purposes to bring to London, and who appears to have been

afterwards buried at Lisburn, in Ireland, were the fruits of his second marriage. It is strange, however, that he speaks of the son who was with him as his *only one*; and it is strange, whichever hypothesis we adopt, that he does not say any thing of his daughters, and that, in none of the letters which are preserved, is any direct mention made of either of his wives, though there is an allusion of this sort where he tells Evelyn that the little child whom he had lost, "lately made *us* here very glad." That he was a cold, or indifferent husband, or father, I cannot believe, since his works abound in allusions to domestic happiness, which could have occurred to none who had not felt that happiness, and been worthy of it.

"Nothing," he tells us in his 'Marriage Ring,' "can sweeten felicity itself but love. But, when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings on the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he can quench his thirst and ease his cares, and lay his sorrow down upon her lap, and can retire home to his sanctuary and refectory, and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments. No man can tell, but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges: their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections,

their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their persons and society: but he that loves not his wife and children, feeds a lioness at home, and broods over a nest of sorrows; and blessing itself cannot make him happy; so that all the commandments of God enjoining a man to 'love his wife,' are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. She that is loved, is safe; and he that loves is joyful. Love is an union of all things excellent; it contains in it proportion and satisfaction, and rest and confidence; and I wish that this were so much proceeded in, that the heathens themselves could not go beyond us in this virtue, and its proper and its appendant happiness. Tiberius Gracchus chose to die for the safety of his wife; and yet, methinks, to a Christian to do so, should be no hard thing; for many servants will die for their masters, and many gentlemen will die for their friend, but the examples are not so many of those that are ready to do it for their nearest relations, and yet some there have been. Baptiste Fregosa tells of a Neapolitan, that gave himself a slave to the Moors that he might follow his wife; and Dominicus Catalusius, the prince of Lesbos, kept company with his lady when she was a leper; and these are greater things than to die."*

* Vol. v. p. 269.

The traditionary accounts of Taylor, which are yet to be recovered in South Wales, agree with Anthony Wood, in relating that, after the distressing visitation which his letter records, he left his residence near Golden Grove, and officiated in a small and private congregation of Episcopalians in London. He appears, in fact, from Evelyn's diary, to have been in London some part of this year; since, on the 25th of March, he shewed Evelyn his manuscript of the Cases of Conscience, now fitted for the press; and, on June the 7th, we find him officiating in the drawing-room at Say's Court, in the baptism of Evelyn's fourth son. By his recommendation too, (though whether that recommendation was conveyed by letter, or in a personal interview, we are not informed,) Evelyn, on the 16th of July, used his interest with the patron of the living of Eltham, in behalf of a young man named Moody*.

But, if Taylor had really fixed himself at this time in London, it is remarkable that his visits to Say's Court, considering the nature of the friendship between him and Evelyn, are not more frequently mentioned; and, it is stranger still, if he were officiating regularly in a small congregation of loyalists, that Evelyn has not recorded his own occasional journeys to attend the ministry of the man whom he calls his spiritual father. And, notwithstanding Wood's assertion, I am greatly inclined to doubt

that he ever permanently settled in the metropolis, though his annual visits thither may have easily given rise to the opinion.

It is certain, at least, that in the letter which relates the death of his children, he speaks of his intended journey to London in terms which imply a relaxation and temporary escape from afflicting thoughts, rather than a permanent change of residence, or the undertaking of fresh duties and a new sphere of usefulness. Be this as it may, his poverty was now alleviated by the generous grant of a yearly pension from Evelyn, which he acknowledges in a letter of most eloquent gratitude, dated the fifteenth of May ; but, as usual, without mention of the place whence he wrote it.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“HONOUR'D AND DEARE SIR, — A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter, and a token ; full of humanity and sweetnesse that was, and this of charity. I know it is more blessed to give than to receive ; and yet as I no ways repine at the Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give ; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decrees in heaven for my support and comfort, soe I doe most thankfully adore the goodnesse of God to you, whom he consignes to greater glories by the ministeries of these graces.

But, Sir, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done, that you thinke I have or can oblige you? Sir, you are too kinde to mee, and oblige me not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you, and honour you, and pray for you: and in all this I cannot say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthinesse and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returnes, and my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were possible for me to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am oblig'd and asham'd, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent myselfe to be,

“HONOUR'D AND DEARE SIR,

“Your most affectionate and obliged
Friend and servant,

“May 15, 1657.”

“JER. TAYLOR*.”

The favour which Evelyn, as alluded to in the above letter, had spoken of as in the power of Taylor to confer on him, he explained in a subsequent note to be one, to request which was, in itself, a pleasing mark of friendship and high opinion,

that he would come to christen his son. The answer shews that Taylor was at this time occupied in his beautiful Essay on Friendship, and that he had communicated his plan to Evelyn.

“TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“HONOUR'D AND DEARE SIR, — Your messenger prevented mine but an houre. But I am much pleased at the repetition of the divine favour to you in the like instances ; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, and care of your family ; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former because the principle is genuine and prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal and alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crown'd my innocent indeavours in my descriptions of Friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas : and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe the first Essay ; for when any thing shall be observed to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to seek the substance, more beauteous than the picture ; and, by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life and worthinesse, they shall see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are. Sir, I shall, by the grace of God,

wait upon you to-morrow, and doe the office you require; and shall hope that your litle one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then, and after, make for him: that then also I shall wayte upon your worthy brothers, I see it is a designe both of your kindnesse and of the Divine Providence.

“SIR,

“I am your most affectionate and most faithful
Friend and servant,

“June 9, 1657.”

“JER. TAYLOR.”

The following letter was, probably, written from Mandinam. It sufficiently indicates the nature of that to which it was an answer. It is singular that Evelyn should have been harrassed by doubts of this kind, and still more curious and interesting to see the manner in which Jeremy Taylor attempted to solve them.

“TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“Aug. 29, 57.

“SIR,—I am very glad that your good nature hath overcome your modesty, and that you have suffered yourself to be persuaded to benefit the world rather than humor your owne retirednesse. I have many reasons to incourage you, and the onely one objection which is the leaven of your author ‘*de providentiâ*,’ you have so well answered, that I am

confident, in imitation of your great Master, you will bring good out of evil : and, like those wise physicians, who, giving *αλεξιμαχα*, doe not onely expell the poyson, but strengthen the stomach, I doubt not but you will take all opportunities, and give all advantages, to the reputation and great name of God ; and will be glad and rejoyce to imploy your pen for him who gave you fingers to write, and will [quære ‘ witt ?’] to dictate.

“ But, Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soule : that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment ; which you conceive is not agreeable to the Apostles’ Creed, or current of Scriptures, assigning (as you suppose,) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speake to the thing I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other, may both be true. For the soule may be immortal, and yet not beatified till the resurrection. For to be, and to be happy or miserable, are not immediate or necessary consequents to each other. For the soule may be alive, and yet not feele ; as it may be alive and not understand ; so our soule, when we are fast asleepe, and so Nebuchadnezzar’s soule, when he had his lycanthropy. And the Socinians, that say the soule sleepes, doe not suppose that she is mortal ; but, for want of her instrument, cannot doe any acts of life. The soule returnes to God ; and that, in no sense, is death. And I thinke the death of the soule cannot be de-

finied ; and there is no death to spirits but annihilation. I am sure there is none that we know of or can understand. For, if ceasing from its operations be death, then it dies sooner than the body : for oftentimes it does not worke any of its nobler operations. In our sleepe we neither feele nor understand. If you answer, and say, it animates the body, and that is a sufficient indication of life : I reply that, if one act alone is sufficient to show the soule to be alive, then the soule cannot die ; for in philosophy it is affirmed, that the soule desires to be re-united ; and that which is dead desires not : besides, that the soule can understand without the body is so certaine, (if there be any certainty in mystic theology.) and so evident in actions which are reflected upon themselves, as a desire to desire, a will to will, a remembering that I did remember ; that, if one act be enough to prove the soule to be alive, the state of separation cannot be a state of death to the soule : because she then can desire to be re-united, and she can understand : for nothing can hinder from doing those actions which depend not upon the body, and in which the operations of the soule are not organical.

“ But to the thing. That the felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment I doe believe next to an article of my creed ; and so far I consent with you : but then I cannot allow your consequent ; that the soule is mortal. That the soule is a com-

plete [qu. complex?] substance, I am willing enough to allow in disputation; though, indeed, I believe the contrary; but I am sure no philosophy and no divinity can prove its being to be wholly relative and incomplete. But, suppose it: it will not follow that, therefore, it cannot live in separation. For the flame of a candle, which is your owne similitude will give light enough to this enquiry. The flame of a candle can consist or subsist, though the matter be extinct. I will not instance Licetus his lampes, whose flame had stood still 1500 years, viz. in Tullie's wife's vault. For, if it had spent any matter, the matter would have been exhaust long before that: if it spends none, it is all one as if it had none; for what need is there of it, if there be no use for it, and what use if no feeding the flame, and how can it feed but by spending itselfe? But the reason why the flame goes out when the matter is exhaust, is because that little particle of fire is soone overcome by the circumflant aire and scattered, when it wants matter to keepe it in union and closenesse: but then, as the flame continues not in the relation of a candle's flame, when the matter is exhaust, yet fire can abide without matter to feed it: for itselfe is matter; it is a substance. And so is the soule: and as the element of fire, and the celestial globes of fire, eat nothing, but live of themselves; so can the soule when it is divested of its relative, and so would the candle's flame, if it could

get to the regions of fire, as the soule does to the region of spirits.

“ The places of Scripture you are pleased to urge, I shal reserve for our meeting or another letter; for they require particular scrutiny. But one thing only, because the answer is short, I shall reply to; why the apostle, preaching Jesus and the resurrection, said nothing of the immortality of the soule? I answer, because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. 2. And if it had not, yet what need he preach that to them which in Athens was beleived by almost all their schooles of learning? For, besides that the immortality of the soule was beleived by the Gymnosophists in India, by Trismegist in Egypt, by Job in Chaldea, by his friends in the east, it was also confessed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Thales Milesius, and by Aristotle, as I am sure I can prove. I say nothing of Cicero, and all the Latins; and nothing of all the Christian schooles of philosophy that ever were. But when you see it in Scripture, I know you will no way refuse it. To this purpose are those words of St. Paul, speaking of his rapture into heaven. He purposely and by design twice says, whether in the body or out of the body I know not: by which he plainly says, that it was no ways unlikely that his rapture was out of the body; and, therefore, it is very agreeable to the nature of the soule to operate in separation from the body.

“ Sir, for your other question, how it appears that God made all things out of nothing? I answer; it is demonstratively certaine; or else there is no God. For, if there be a God, he is the one principle:— but, if he did not make the first thing, then there is something besides him that was never made; and then there are two eternals. Now if God made the first thing, he made it of nothing. But, Sir, if I may have the honour to see your annotations before you publish them, I will give all the faithful and most freindly assistances that are in the power of,

“ DEARE SIR,

“ Your most obliged and affectionate Servant,

“ JER. TAYLOR.”

This letter, undoubtedly, displays, in every part of it, a vigorous and richly cultivated mind; and those arguments which the writer has taken from Scripture, or from his own natural acuteness, are sufficient, in almost every instance, to establish the solemn truths for which he is contending. Where he fails, he fails from a reliance on an unsound philosophy; from taking those things for granted which it is impossible to prove,—or which are now universally abandoned as fabulous.

Thus, if Evelyn had inquired from what philosophical presumption he learned, that the disembodied soul “ desires to be re-united,” he would have been

Evelyn Papers, medii.

only able to urge the dicta of men as ignorant as himself, or who reasoned from their present perceptions to what their perceptions should be in a different state of existence, the very fact of which was first to be shown, before that probability could be determined which he here assumes as proof of the premises. The fable of the sepulchral lamp he, indeed, hardly ventures to rely on, though he instances it in a manner which would lead us to suspect he believed it. But, that the flame of a candle might, but for the accident of the circumflant air, continue to burn without its fuel, — absurd as it now sounds, is to be laid at the door of that division of the four elements which no man, before the last century, called in question, — though had a sturdy reasoner demanded proofs of “the region of fire,” of the self-nourished flame of the sun and stars, and the other gratuitous assumptions of the ancient system, — the philosopher must have been content to hold his peace, or to quote, (what, indeed, was reckoned sufficient,) the mere authority of Aristotle or the schoolmen.

His reasons why St. Paul, in preaching Jesus and the resurrection to the Athenians, omitted all mention of the soul's immortality, are, however, abundantly satisfactory. And, though far stronger texts might be alleged in support of the doctrine than that in which the same apostle is speaking of his heavenly journey, — the probability certainly is, even from that text alone, that the apostle himself

took the separate existence of the soul for granted, and believed it extremely possible for a man to be, and think, and even to acquire new ideas, without the assistance of the body.

The argument, by which he attempts to prove that God created all things out of nothing, is tainted, in some degree, with the fault which I have already noticed, of reasoning from propositions as if they were axioms. He assumes it as a necessary definition of God, that he is the one principle of all things, the only Eternal; — he then argues justly, that, if there were any thing which God did not make, there would be more Eternals than one; — and concludes that, in such case, neither of those Eternals could be God. Surely this is running on too fast; and if Evelyn had been a Manichee to assert the existence of two principles, — or if, with Aristotle, he had esteemed God as the first Mover only, not the Creator: if, in short, on whatever plea, he had denied his friend's definition, — a very different and much longer process must have been necessary to show the reasonableness of believing, that all things, as they depend on God for their being, must have, in the first instance, derived that being from his will.

These are not the only points in which Taylor has, to all appearance, forgotten himself in the preceding letter. He professes, with much earnestness, to believe, "next to an article of his creed, that the felicity of Christians is not till the day of

judgment." If he said their *complete* felicity, he would have said no more than we are led to believe, by the very fact, that we are not, till then, to rejoin our bodies, or than the Scriptures imply, in passages too numerous to be cited. But, by deferring *all enjoyment* till that time, he defers all sensation also, and may be suspected of adopting the old Socinian doctrine of the sleep of the soul; a doctrine, certainly, not inconsistent with its immortality, and far less revolting to reason and Christianity than the materialism which that sect has since embraced; but which is at variance with all the actions and habits of the soul, so far as they fall under our present observation, and is plainly contradicted by the most ancient traditionary religion of mankind; by the expectation of St. Paul that, on his departure, he was to be with Christ; by the expressions of Christ himself, in his parable of Lazarus; and by his promise to the penitent robber at his crucifixion.

It is, after all, by a reference to the law and the testimony, that the immortality of the soul is most satisfactorily established. Reason, indeed, may tell us, that the extinction of the soul does not necessarily follow the destruction of the body; that, as Taylor himself has well observed, it has functions of its own which it may separately exercise, and that it may still be conscious of its own existence, may still recollect the past, still expect the future,—though deprived of those bodily organs by which

alone new ideas are to be acquired or old ones communicated. But what philosophy holds out as possible or probable, revelation alone has rendered certain; and the circumstances and employment of departed spirits, in the region whence no traveller returns, can only be gathered from His assurances, to whom all things are known, but by whom those things only are communicated to men which are necessary to their virtue and consolation.

The controversy which Taylor had excited by his opinions on original sin, was as yet by no means at an end. The episcopalian clergy seem, indeed, to have been content with the sort of official disclaimer of such doctrines on the part of the church, which the letters of Warner afforded. But there were others who conceived themselves bound to animadvert on the error of so eminent a person, and the chief of these were two Presbyterian clergymen, Henry Jeanes, minister of Chedzoy, in Somersetshire, and John Gaule, of Staughton, in Huntingdonshire.

Of Gaule I know nothing but the interminable title of his book, to which Taylor never paid any attention*. Henry Jeanes, however, was an adver-

* *Sapientia Justificata*, or a Vindication of the Fifth Chapter of the Romans, and therein of the Glory of the Divine Attributes; and that in the case of Original Sin, against any way of erroneous understanding it, whether old or new: more especially in answer to Dr. Jer. Taylor's '*Deus Justificatus*.' By John Gaule, &c. &c. Lond. 1637.

sary not unworthy of his powers. He was a man of considerable talent, described by Wood as "an excellent philosopher, a noted mathematician, and well-grounded in polemical divinity." He had been Taylor's contemporary at Oxford, where he was celebrated as a powerful disputant, a learned preacher, and zealous against the doctrines of the Puritans. Of those doctrines, however, when their professors became prosperous and powerful, he, whether conscientiously or not, yet, certainly, at a time not very favourable to his character for disinterestedness, adopted a more advantageous opinion; and, in 1641, became distinguished as a Calvinist and Presbyterian. Unlike most renegadoes, he continued to speak and act with moderation towards the party whom he had abandoned; and was, through life, not more remarkable for his talents, than for his freedom from that sanctimonious austerity which was the usual characteristic of his new friends*.

His attack on Taylor's work was not, in the first instance, intended for publication. In the "Advertisement to the Unprejudiced Reader," prefixed to his letters, Jeanes accounts for it in the following manner:—

"One Mr. T. C. [Thomas Cartwright,] of Bridge-water, being at my house, brake out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive and hyperbolic)

* Wood, *Athen. ni.* col. 590. edit. Burs.

praises of Dr. Jeremy Taylor. I expressed my concurrence with him in great part ; nay, I came nothing behind him in the just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity : but, notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous ; and I instanced in his ‘ Doctrine of Original Sin.’ Now his ‘ Further Explication ’ of this then lay casually in the window, (as I take it), which hereupon I took up, and turned unto the passage now under debate, and shewed unto Mr. T. C. that therein were gross nonsense and blasphemy. He for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business, but withal he told me that he would, if I so pleased, give Doctor Taylor notice of what I said ; whereunto I agreed, and, in a short time, he brought me from the Doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them ; whereupon I drew them up in a letter to Mr. T. C., the copy whereof followeth.”

The controversy thus begun, was, like most others of the kind, till the parties grew warm, carried on with considerable courtesy. But the disputants, who addressed each other, in the first instance, through the medium of their common friend, Mr. Cartwright, — began, as is usual in such cases, to lose their tempers at the second replication. Each

accused the other of unfairness and intemperance, and, I regret to say that, of the two, Jeremy Taylor was the most captious and personal. Yet he had some reason to complain that his opponent's whole battery was directed not against the general principle of his book, but against a detached and single expression; — and that his apparent and, in fact, his avowed object was not so much to refute the Pelagianism of Taylor, as to derogate from his reputation in the mind of one of his friends and admirers*.

While Taylor was yet in London, he had shown to Evelyn his ‘*Ductor Dubitantium*’ in a state of considerable forwardness. Many years, however, were to elapse before he actually finished the printing. The importance which he attached to it, not only as the chief pillar of his fame, but as the best evidence of his activity in God's service, seem to have rendered him more cautious and timid in this than in any other of his literary enterprises, and he thought no pains too great, no consideration too minute to bestow on its principles, arrangement, and execution. During this year, however, he published his *Συμβολον Ηθικο-πολεμικον*, a reprint of several of his former works in folio, (amongst which was his ‘*Liberty of Prophecy*,’ with the additional arguments against the Anabaptists, and the parable of Abraham;) — and with which now appeared, for the first time, the

* See Appendix.

“ Discourse of Friendship.” This last work was addressed to the Mrs. Katharine Philips already mentioned, the wife of a gentleman in Cardiganshire, and author of different poems and prose works, who, having possessed the advantages of an easy fortune, an amiable manner, an agreeable person, and a certain skill in stringing together rhymes and compliments, has been handed down to our times, with commendations more profuse than any thing which is to be found in her published works will, in the present age, be thought to warrant. In any age, indeed, she would have been a “blue-stocking” of distinguished celebrity. But the authors of the seventeenth century were habitually lavish of their praise on the wealthy and the fair; and “the matchless Orinda,” (as she was called from having assumed that name in a long romantic correspondence with Sir Charles Cotterel,) had reason to esteem herself fortunate in having her translations of Corneille corrected by Buckhurst and Waller, and her virtues and genius eulogised, when living, by Taylor, and, after her death, by Cowley*. Orinda, however, was not usually ungrateful,—and, among her published poems is one to the noble Palæmon, on his incomparable “Discourse of Friendship,” which has been generally, but too hastily, apprehended to refer to Taylor. Unfortunately, however, we learn from

* Granger, vol. iii. p. 103. Bonney, *Life of Taylor*, p. 259.

another of her compositions, (in the title to which Palæmon is designated by his real appellation as well as his *nom de guerre*,) that he was not Taylor, but Mr. Francis Finch, an accomplished gentleman, author of several small poems, and who, as well as Taylor, appears to have written a ‘Discourse on Friendship*.’

At the beginning of 1658, we find him again in London, though whether his visit were, in the first instance, by choice or compulsion, we must, probably, remain uninformed. Certain it is that the first place where we hear of him is the Tower, where he was confined on account of the indiscretion of his bookseller Royston, who had prefixed to his ‘Collection of Offices,’ a print of Christ in the attitude of prayer. Such representations were then termed scandalous and tending to idolatry, and an act had lately passed, inflicting on those guilty of publishing them the penalty of fine and imprisonment. Evelyn, however, whose influence was almost equal with all parties in the state, applied, through a friend, to the lieutenant of the Tower, insisting on the greatness of those services which Taylor had rendered to the cause of Protestantism, and soliciting permission that “his learned and pious friend” might be admitted to an explanation of his conduct†.

This application appears to have been successful.

On the seventeenth of the following February, there is a letter from Taylor to Evelyn, condoling with him on the death of his sons Richard and George, — in which he promises to come and see him ; a promise which implies, at least, an expectation of being shortly at liberty ; and we find him, in fact, eight days after, among the friends who visited Say's Court, to comfort its owner under his affliction*. Taylor's letter on such an occasion, who is there that would forgive my omitting ?

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

DEARE SIR,— If dividing and sharing greifes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your streame much abated ; for I account mysele to have a great cause of sorrow, not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrowes without adding to yours ; and the causes of my real sadnesse in your losse are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have great cause to mourne : so certaine it is that greife does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I doe but encrease the flame. ‘ Hoc me malè urit,’ is the best signification

of my apprehension of your sad story. But, Sir, I cannot choose, but I must hold another and a brighter flame to you, it is already burning in your heart; and if I can but remove the darke side of the lanthorne, you have enoughe within you to warme yourselfe, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boyes are two bright starres, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy termes; nothing but to be borne and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable greife; and, indeed, though the greife hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no losers, but you are the person that complaines, doe but consider what you would have suffer'd for their interest: you [would] have suffered them to goe from you, to be great princes in a strange country: and if you can be content to suffer your owne inconvenience for their interest, you command [commend?] your worthiest love, and the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you looke upon it as a rod of God; and he that so smites here will spare hereafter: and if you, by patience and submission, imprint the discipline upon your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable; because it is, in some sense, chosen, and

therefore, in no sense, insufferable. Sir, if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider, that of the bravest men in the world, we find the seldomest stories of their children, and the apostles had none*, and thousands of the worthiest persons, that sound most in story, died childlesse : you will find it a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments and reasonings. If the breach be never repair'd, it is because God does not see it fitt to be ; and if you will be of his mind, it will be much the better. But, Sir, you will pardon my zeale and passion for your comfort ; I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces ; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort, stand in the breaches of your owne family, and make it appeare that you are more to her than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your Christian courage and bravery ; and that I may see, that God never displeases you, as long as the main stake is

preserved, I meane your hopes and confidences of heaven. Sir, I shal pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind; and shal alwayes doe you honour, and faine also would doe you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

DEAR SIR,

“ Your most affectionate and obliged

“ Friend and servant,

“ Feb. 17, 1657-8.”

“ JER. TAYLOR*.”

It would be at this time, if ever, that we should expect to find him settled in London. But, except in one instance, on the seventh of the following March, when Evelyn speaks of himself as attending his preaching and receiving the communion from his hands in a private house, — we have no instance on record of his exercising his ministerial functions. It is probable, indeed, that even these rare and clandestine assemblies for religious worship were abundantly hazardous to those who officiated; inasmuch as the government of Cromwell, though tolerant enough towards most sects except the Quakers and the Episcopalians, never ceased to treat these last with great and unmingled severity. The usurper himself was, indeed, as is well known, averse to such measures,

* Evelyn Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 123.

and personally well inclined not only to many individuals of the episcopal clergy, but even to their form of government. His inclinations were, however, obliged to give way to those of the zealots around him, and the whole history of the time evinces that, wicked and unwise as was the retaliation which, a few years afterwards, the Episcopalians inflicted on their opponents, it was no more than retaliation after all, and what the opposite party, therefore, on their own principles, had no right to complain of.

The friends of Taylor, however, were not unmindful of his interests and safety; and it was, perhaps, for the sake of the last, that, during this spring, they appear to have suggested a measure which, at first sight, seems extraordinary in persons to whom his ministry and his society were so dear; and to which nothing but the pressure of want or the sense of personal danger can have made Taylor look forwards with satisfaction. The well-wishers of Savage, in a subsequent age, were content, for the sake of maintaining their unfortunate client more cheaply, to assign him a residence in Wales. The admirers of Taylor found a proper soil for his virtues and his matchless talents in the north-eastern extremity of Ireland. This suggestion seems to have been made in the first instance to Evelyn, by Edward earl of Conway, who had ample estates and powerful connexions in the neighbourhood of Lisburn; and, as there is reason to believe, procured for Taylor the

offer of an alternate lectureship in that borough, with a prospect of other advantages. Such an appointment, at least, and in a distant country, is alluded to by Taylor in the following letter. It is plain from lord Conway's own correspondence, preserved among the Rawdon Papers, that he was induced to wish for Taylor's removal to Ireland, by an anxiety that his great talents should be employed to the spiritual advantage of his neighbourhood; and as the dates of these letters shew that the negociation was at that time proceeding, it is by no means likely that that which follows refers to a different transaction. Its mutilated state is the more to be regretted, inasmuch as there are few divines of Taylor's age who would have treated the question of usury in a manner so sensible and satisfactory. He does not, it may be observed, mention the necessity of taking the covenant as one of the objections to the proposed lectureship. How this was to be got rid of I do not know. Perhaps, as a lectureship is neither a cure of souls nor an appointment under government, it was not legally necessary; and, where the individual was popular, and supported by powerful friends, its omission might be, in some cases, winked at.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“ May 12, 1658. .

“ HONOUR'D SIR, — I returne you many thanks for your care of my temporal affaires: I wish I may

be able to give you as good account of my watchfulness for your service, as you have of your diligence to doe me benefit. But concerning the thing itselfe, I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semicircle, where a Presbyterian and myselfe shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and, the other downe; which, methinkes, is like the worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious halfe the yeare, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of remooving my selfe and family. It is wholly arbitrary; for the triers may overthrow it; or the vicar may forbid it; or the subscribers may die, or grow weary, or poore, or be absent. I beseech you, Sir, pay my thanks to your friend, who had so much kindness for mee as to intend my benefitt: I thinke myselfe no lesse obliged to him and you than if I had accepted it.

“ Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations and the extracts of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this: that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immersed in the delices and joyes of religion; and as I perceive your relish and gust of the things of the world goes off continually; so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites: I say, with new appetites; for in

religion every new degree of love is a new appetite ; as in the schooles we say, every single angel does make a species, and differs more than numerically from an angel of the same order*.

“ Your question concerning interest hath in it no difficulty as you have prudently stated it. For in the case, you have only made yourselfe a merchant with them ; onely you take lesse, that you be secured ; as you pay a fine to the Assurance Office. I am onely to adde this. You are neither directly nor collaterally to engage the debtor to pay more than is allowed by law. It is necessary that you imploy youre money some way for the advantage of your family. You may lawfully buy land, or traffique, or exchange it to your profit. You may doe this by yourselfe or by another, and you may as well get something as he get more, and that as well by money as by land or goods ; for one is as valuable in estimation of merchants and of all the world as any thing else can be : and mee thinkes, no man should deny mony to be valuable, that remembers, every man parts with what he hath for mony : and as lands are of a price, then [when] they are sold for ever, and when they are parted with for a yeare, so is money : since the imployment of it is as apt to minister to gaine as lands are to rent. Mony and lands are equally the matter of increase : to both of them our

* Note (T.)

industry must [be] applied, or else the profit will cease : now as a tenant of lands may plough for mee, so a tenant of money may goe to sea and traffique for mee * * * * *

Whatever reluctance Taylor may have felt to remove to such a distance from his English friends, was overcome, however, by the prospects held out in the country to which he was destined. Dr. (afterwards Sir William) Petty, whose survey of Ireland by the command of government had made him abundantly and most profitably skilled in the extent and value of the forfeited lands, offered to procure him a purchase on very advantageous terms, and recommended him by letter to several persons of talent and influence in that kingdom. He had similar letters to the lord chancellor of Ireland ; to the lord Pepys ; to Tomlinson, the regicide general ; and the lord chief baron ; and (what may be regarded as an additional proof of his high estimation with all parties in the state) even Cromwell gave him a passport and protection for himself and family under his sign manual and privy signet. It would almost seem that the intrusive government were not sorry to remove to a distance from scenes where he might be dangerous, a man of so steady loyalty, and of talents so distinguished†.

Thus furnished, he appears to have left London

† Evelyn Papers, ined.

† Note (X.)

during the month of June ; and, thenceforward, to have divided his residence between Lisburne and Portmore, about eight miles distant from that town. Perhaps, indeed, he only visited Lisburne for the discharge of his weekly lectureship, since the tradition of his descendants determines him to have chiefly, if not always, occupied a house in the immediate neighbourhood of his patron's mansion ; and to have often preached to a small congregation of loyalists in the half-ruined church of Kilulta.

It is in this last named parish that the mansion of Portmore then stood, built after a plan by Inigo Jones, in a style of almost princely magnificence, of which the stables, yet remaining, are a noble, though melancholy vestige. The park is washed by the great lake of Lough Neagh, and by a smaller mere called Lough Bag (or the Little Lake), each studded with romantic islets ; to some of which, according to the tradition of the vicinity, it was Taylor's fréquent practice to retire for the purposes of study or devotion. Ram Island, in Lough Neagh, and a smaller rock in Lough Bag, are said to have been his favourites ; the one a mile from Portmore, the other about half the distance. The first is distinguished by the ruins of a monastery, and by one of those tall round towers of uncertain use and origin, which are a romantic and characteristic feature of Irish scenery. The other is still more retired and tranquil ; and both have been described to me as scenes where a painter,

a poet, or a devout contemplatist, might alike delight to linger. Retired as the situation of Portmore was, his lectureship may have afforded a useful employment for his characteristic eloquence ; and he found abundant leisure, in security and comparative solitude, for the labours by which his heart was divided, his daily and hourly devotions, and the completion of his *Ductor Dubitantium*.

Poor and dependent as Taylor still continued, this was, probably, the happiest part of his life. Both now, and when in possession of wealth and dignity, he displayed a natural attachment to the neighbourhood which had afforded him such an asylum ; and there are few of his letters from Ireland which do not speak of the situation of his delightful retirement with affection, and with gratitude to the Providence who had placed him there.

Of these letters, the first is from Lisnagarvy, as Lisburne was anciently called ; though, even in Taylor's day, the appellation was nearly obsolete. Of the sect which he describes, I have been able to acquire no further information*. The anxiety which he expresses after literary news may be easily understood and appreciated. For the rest, I think we may perceive a tone of hilarity in his letter which bespeaks a mind at ease, and which is remarkably different from the constrained and desponding feeling

* Note (Y.)

by which many of his former communications is distinguished.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“ Lisnagarvy, April 9, 1659.

“ HONOURED SIR, — I feare I am so unfortunate as that I forgot to leave with you a direction how you might, if you pleased to honour me with a letter, refresh my solitude with notice of your health and that of your relatives, that I may rejoyce and give God thanks for the blessing and prosperity of my dearest and most honour'd friends. I have kept close all the winter, that I might, without interruption, attend to the finishing of the imployment I was engaged in : which now will have no longer delay than what it meetes in the printer's hands. But, Sir, I hope that by this time you have finished what you have so prosperously begun, — your owne Lucretius. I desire to receive notice of it from yourselfe, and what other designes you are upon in order to the promoting or adorning learning : for I am confident you will be as useful and profitable as you can be, that, by the worthiest testimonies, it may by posterity be remembered that you did live. But, Sir, I pray say to me something concerning the state of learning ; how is any art or science likely to improve ? what good bookes are lately publike ? what learned men, abroad or at home, begin anew to fill the mouth of fame, in the

places of the dead Salmasius, Vossius, Mocelin, Sirmond, Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peiresk, Petavius, and the excellent persons of yesterday? I perceive here that there is a new sect rising in England; the Perfectionists; for three men that wrote an Examen of the Confession of Faith of the Assembly, whereof one was Dr. Drayton, and is now dead, did starte some very odde things; but especially one, in pursuance of the doctrine of Castellio, that it is possible to give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, and to have perfection of degrees in this life. The doctrine was opposed by an obscure person, one John Tendring; but learnedly enough and wittily maintained by another of the triumvirate, W. Parker, who indeed was the worst of the three; but he takes his hint from a sermon of Dr. Drayton, which, since his death, Parker hath published, and endeavours to justify. I am informed by a worthy person, that there are many of them who pretend to great sanctity and great revelations and skill in all Scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to spiritual and mysterious purposes. I knew nothing, or but extremely little, of them when I was in England; but further off I heare most newes. If you can informe yourselfe concerning them, I would faine be instructed concerning their designe, and the circumstances of their life and doctrine. For they live strictly, and in many things speake rationally, and in some things very confidently. They

excell the Socinians in the strictnesse of their doctrine; but, in my opinion, fall extremely short of them in their expositions of the practical Scripture. If you inquire after the men of Dr. Gell's church, possibly you may learne much: and, if I mistake not, the thing is worth inquiry. Their bookes are printed by Thos. Newcomb in London, but where is not set downe. The Examen of the Assemblie's Confession is highly worth perusing, both for the strangenesse of some of the things in it, and the learning of many of them.

" Sir, you see how I am glad to make an occasion to talke with you: though I can never want a just opportunity and title to write to you, as long as I have the memory of those many actions of loving kindnesse by which you have obliged,

" HONOUR'D SIR,

" Your most affectionate and indeared

" Friend and humble servant,

" JER. TAYLOR.

" Be pleased to present my humble service to your honour'd and worthy brother in Covent Garden.

" I suppose my servant will wayte on you with this letter; but if he misses you, if you please at any time to write to me, if you send it to Mr. Allestree, stationer, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Church-yard, it will come to me safely*."

Evelyn Papers, ined.

Whatever were the aids conferred on him by his new friends, of which I regret my inability to give a further account, they were not sufficient to place him above the necessity of Evelyn's yearly pension, which that excellent man continued to pay, though, as it should seem, from narrower means than before, and with some degree of inconvenience. Nor was even the solitary paradise of Portmore able to exempt him from the peculiar evils of the time, and the effects of private malice: a person named Tandy, whom Taylor calls "a madman," and who appears, by Lord Conway's letters, to have been something like an agent to different noble families, out of pure jealousy that the new-comer stood more in favour with his patrons than himself, and was a more welcome and frequent guest at their houses, denounced him to the Irish Privy Council as a dangerous and disaffected character, and, more particularly, as having used the sign of the cross in the ceremony of private baptism. Taylor himself does not seem to have been much alarmed, but Conway expresses himself on the subject with a degree of feeling which does him honour; and with an indignation against the informer, not unnatural in one who conceived that, in attacking his friend, that informer was treating himself with ingratitude*. To this vexation Taylor alludes in the following letter;

in which, as will be observed, he also speaks of the Perfectionists, with a degree of interest and curiosity, which the sect may seem to have been of too little importance to deserve.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“ Portmore, June 4, 1659.

“ HONOURED SIR,—I have reason to take a great pleasure that you are pleased so perfectly to retain me in your memory and affections, as if I were still neere you, a partner of your converse, or could possibly oblige you. But I shall attribute this so wholly to your goodnesse, your piety and candour, that I am sure nothing on my part can incite or continue the least part of those civilities and endearments by which you have often, and still continue to oblige me. Sir, I received your two little bookes, and am very much pleased with the golden booke of St. Chrysostom, on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, and made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy; and when I read it, I could not choose but observe St. Paul’s rule: *flebam cum flentibus*. I paid a teare at the hearse of that sweet child. Your other little Enchiridion is an emanation of an ingenious spirit; and there are in it observations, the like of which are seldom made by young travellers*;

and though by the publication of these, you have been civil and courteous to the commonwealth of learning, yet I hope you will proceed to oblige us in some greater instances of your owne. I am much pleased with your waye of translation; and if you would proceed in the same method, and give us in English some devout pieces of the fathers, and your own annotations upon them, you would doe profit and pleasure to the publicke. But, Sir, I cannot easily consent that you should lay aside your Lucretius, and having beene requited yourselfe by your labour, I cannot perceive why you should not give us the same recreation, since it will be greater to us than it could be to you, to whom it was allayed by your great labour: especially you having given us so large an essay of your ability to doe it; and the world having given you an essay of their acceptance of it.

“ Sir, that Pallavicini whom you mention, is the author of the late history of the Council of Trent, in two volumes in folio, in Italian. I have seene it, but had not leisure to peruse it so much as to give any judgment of the man by it. Besides this, he hath published two little manuals in 12mo, *Assertionum Theologicarum*; but these speake but very little of the man. His history, indeed, is a great undertaking, and his family (for he is of the Jesuit order), use to sell the booke by crying up the man: but I thinke I saw enough of it to suspect the

expectation is much bigger then the thing. It is no wonder that Baxter undervalues the gentry of England. You know what spirit he is of, but I suppose he hath met with his match: for Mr. Peirs hath attacked him: and they are joyn'd in the lists*. I have not seene Mr. Thorndike's booke. You make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate: but I like not the title nor the subject, and the man is indeed a very good and a learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings: but if he have so well chosen the questions, there is no peradventure but he hath tumbled into his heape many choice materials†. I am much pleas'd that you promise to inquire into the way of the Perfectionists; but I thinke L. Pembroke and Mrs. Joy, and the Lady Wildgoose, are none of that number. I assure you, some very learned and very sober persons have given up their names to it. Castellio is their great patriarch: and his Dialogue *An per Spir. S. homo possit perfectè obedire legi Dei*, is their first essay. Parker hath written something lately of it, and in Dr. Gell's last booke in folio there is much of it. Indeed, you say right that they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, and they understand him as nurses doe their children's imper-

* Note (B.B.) Wood's Athen. vol. ii. p. 358.

† Note (C.C.) Wood, vol. i. p. 461.

fect language ; something by use, and much by fancy. I hope, Sir, in your next to me (for I flatter myselfe to have the happinesse of receiving a letter from you sometimes), you will account to me of some hopes concerning some settlement, or some peace to religion. I feare my peace in Ireland is likely to be short ; for a Presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion ; and for using the signe of the crosse in baptisme. The worst event of the information which I feare, is my returne into England ; which although I am not desirous it should be upon these termes ; yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled.

“ Sir, I doe account myselfe extremely obliged to your kindnesse and charity, in your continued care of me and bounty to me ; it is so much the more, because I have almost from all men but yourselfe, suffered some diminution of their kindnesse, by reason of my absence ; for, as the Spaniard sayes, ‘ The dead and the absent have but few friends.’ But, Sir, I account myselfe infinitely oblig’d to you, much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed. I pray, Sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your two honoured brothers : I shall be ashamed to make any addresse, or pay my thankes in words to them, till my Rule of

Conscience be publicke, and that is all the way I have to pay my debts; that and my prayers that God would*. Sir, Mr. Martin, bookseller, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Church-yard, is my correspondent in London, and whatsoever he receives, he transmits it to me carefully; and so will Mr. Royston, though I doe not often imploy him now. Sir, I feare I have tir'd you with an impertinent letter, but I have felt your charity to be so great as to doe much more than to pardon the excesse of my affections. Sir, I hope that you and I remember one another when we are upon our knees. I doe not thinke of coming to London till the latter end of summer or the spring, if I can enjoy my quietnesse here; but then I doe if God permit: but beg to be in this interval refreshed by a letter from you at your leisure, for, indeed, in it will be a great pleasure and endearment to,

“HONOUR'D SIR,

“Your very oblig'd, most affectionate

“and humble servant,

“JER. TAYLOR.†”

In consequence of the information laid against Taylor, a warrant was issued to the Governor of Carrickfergus, by the Irish Privy Council, to bring him before them for examination‡. In the minutes

* Note (D.D.) † Evelyn Papers, ined. ‡ Note (E.E.)

of the council no other entry occurs relating to him, and it is, therefore, probable that his friends had power to obtain his speedy discharge. The journey, however, to Dublin, in the heart of winter, was sufficient to throw him into a severe illness, which, perhaps, was admitted by the government as a plea for letting him off more easily.

In the letter of Lady Wray, to which I have already so often referred, it is said that he about this time "suffered much from Sir Phelim O'Nial." But this is, evidently, a circumstance respecting which her memory had deceived her, since that weak and cruel chieftain had suffered death some years before Taylor's arrival in Ireland. From his kindred and clan, at this time, a loyalist had nothing to apprehend, even if they had possessed the power of injuring him; and the O'Nials, as well as all the other Irish Septs, had been completely crushed by the dreadful severities of Ireton and Cromwell. In 1666, however, the neighbouring county of Tyrone was really infested, for some time, by bands of Tories and White Boys*; and, if Taylor kept a farm, as from various circumstances he appears to have done, it is possible that his cattle may, on some occasion, have been stolen; a circumstance which might be easily exaggerated by family tradition, till it became, in the narration of his grandchild, a persecution by

* Rawdon Papers, pp. 218, 223, &c.

the Roman Catholics. But, if it had been ~~any thing~~ considerable, we should have found, in all probability, some mention of it in his letters; and on the contrary, I am assured that the traditions of the country imply that, with the peasantry of that persuasion, his amiable temper and ascetic habits rendered him an object of regard and veneration.

It was this, perhaps, which gave occasion to a renewal of the report of his inclination to Popery, of which he complains in his "Letters to Persons changed in their Religion," which, though not now published, appear to have been written about this time. No new work of his issued from the press this year, for the "Ephesian Matron" is apprehended by Mr. Bonney to have been merely a reprint of that story as told in the *Holy Dying**. The following letter, however, was published in the *Θανατολογία* of Dr. John Stearne, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Dublin; and is interesting, as being, except the interminable Epitaph on Lady Carbery, the only remaining specimen of the author's Latinity. The concluding compliment is lively and elegant. For the rest, it cannot be said that he flatters so beautifully in a learned language as in English. With the poor book which is beslavered with such deglutitious phrases I have no acquaintance.

Bonney, *Life*, p. 274.

“ Viro amicissimo et integerrimo Johanni Stearne, Medicinæ et Philosophiæ Professori Doctissimo, *ευχαριστῶ*.

“ Quam primùm earum mihi facta est copia, in schedas tuas involaverunt oculi et mens, amor et acumen, et tota quanta est curiositatis supellex, ut discernerem quicquid id fuit quod parturiens et ferax ingenium in lucem hodiernam destinârat bono publico.

“ Tam rectè novi ingenium tuum, Stearni doctissime, ex monumentis publicis, et privatis præclaræ tuæ eruditionis indicibus, ut difficile non fuerit hariolari quid intus lateret in Enchiridio quod festinantiùs singularis tua humanitas præmiserat, enimverò nec falsus fui. Præsensit enim animus me in hisce tabulis, ingenii cupedias et bellaria, philosophiæ inventa non vulgaria, rationis *ἀνθρον ἔνθημα*, Artis Medicæ, quam hodiè in Hiberniæ metropoli adornas, specimen non mediocre: at cùm irrueram in interloquium, (placide enim et moderatè tot *τραγήματα* adire, nec enim diffitebor, impos plane fui,) me divinum sensi; et quem prægustaveram, lepidè quidem vaticinatus qualem perlecturus eram libellum, cum demùm aut avidiùs, ne totum non exhaurirem, aut pitissans, ne citius quam volueram clauderetur festum, certe mirâ cum ingluvie non uno modo ordinatâ, ingessi in animum meum: et tandem ruminans quod delibaveram, sensi clarissimè (et lætatus sum) scientiæ reconditoris arcana reserata, ingenii incomparabilis *ἐπιχειρήματα*, veritatis illustre et ingenuum

ministerium, et quæstiones nodosas satis, sed nec inutiles, quas aut solvisti dextrè, aut dissecuisti strenuè, in omnibus vel Aristoteli vel Alexandro suppar: adeo ut non ineptum judicaverim gratulari Reipublicæ Literariæ hoc novum emergens decus, imo et tibi in aurem insusurrare quam fæliciter Spartam hanc exornaveris; certe bono publico, honori Academiæ Dubliniensis, usui et ornamento literatorum, saluti sedentis et desidis turbæ cogitabundorum hominum, quinimo et inclytæ famæ tuæ. Tantum est: nihil enim superest, nisi ut te amem, ut legam, ut relegam, et ut (quod vovit Socrates in intuitu et speculatione mortis,) ego pro tuis de morte præclaris lucubrationibus et longævitatibus salutaribus documentis nuncuparem Gallum Æsculapio; vel potius tibi (quod Apollinis filio Heraclides constituit,) *ελαίου κρήνην χρυσήν του ὀφθοῦς*. Serpentem autem et canem in æde Æsculapii tu cave. Etenim non ita pridem sensisti mordacium animalculorum morsiunculas. Vale.

“ Ex amænissimo recessu in Portmore dedit

“ JEREMIAS TAYLOR,

“ S.S. Th. Professor.”

What follows is of a very different character.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

“ HONOURED AND DEARE SIR, — Yours dated July 23d, I received not till All Saints day: it

seemes it was stopp'd by the intervening troubles in England*: but it was lodged in a good hand, and came safely and unbroken to me. I must needs beg the favour of you that I may receive from you an account of your health and present conditions, and of your family; for I feare concerning all my friends, but especially for those few very choice ones I have, lest the present troubles may have done them any violence in their affaires or content. It is now long since that cloud passed; and though I suppose the sky is yet full of meteors and evil prognostics, yet you all have time to consider concerning your peace and your securityes. That was not God's time to relieve his church, and I cannot understand from what quarter that wind blew, and whether it was for or against us. But God disposes all things wisely; and religion can receive no detriment or diminution but by our owne fault. I long, Sir, to come to converse with you; for I promise to myselfe that I may receive from you an excellent account of your progression in religion, and that you are entred into the experimental and secret way of it, which is that state of excellency whether [whither] good persons use to arrive after a state of repentance and caution. My retirement in this solitary place hath been, I hope, of some advantage to me as to this state of religion, in which I am yet but

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a novice; but by the goodnesse of God, I see fine things before me whither I am contending. It is a great, but a good worke, and I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, and to obtaine of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love and union with God, which is given to all those soules who are very deare to God. Sir, if it please God, I purpose to be in London in April next, where I hope for the comfort of conversing with you. In the meane time, be pleas'd to accept my thanks for your great kindnesse in taking care of me in that token you were pleased to leave with Mr. Martin. I am sorry the evil circumstances of the times made it any way afflictive or inconvenient. I had rather you should not have been burden'd than that I should have received kindnesse on hard conditions to you. Sir, I shall not trouble your studies now, for I suppose you are very buisy there: but I shall desire the favour that I may know what you are now doing, for you cannot seperate your affaires from being of concerne to,

“ DEARE SIR,

“ Your very affectionate friend
and humble servant,

“ Portmore, Nov. 3, 1659.”

“ JER. TAYLOR.”

With such humility did the author of the “ Holy

Evelyn Papers, ined.

Living and Dying" regard his own attainments in religion, and such were his impressions of the happiness and consolation, even in this life, conferred by a pure and exalted piety ! ' If there is something mystic in the tone which he adopts, and we are reminded, in spite of ourselves, of his previous inquiries concerning the Perfectionists, let it be remembered that his subsequent, no less than his preceding writings, bear testimony to his freedom from any error of the kind ; and that his devotion through life appears to have continued, as we have hitherto seen it, however intense, however unremitted, however (I had almost said) seraphic, — yet practical, peaceful, energetic, and orderly ; — of a kind which, instead of seeking food in visions of enthusiastic rapture, or displaying itself in a fantastical adoption of new toys and instruments of theopathy, made him the better friend, the better parent, the better servant of the state, the better member and governor of that church which he had defended in her deepest adversities.

Those adversities were now drawing to an end, though Taylor could not foresee it ; and, as appears from some expressions in the preceding letter, was uncertain whether the aspect of the times portended good or an increase of evil. His journey to London, however, which we have seen him already meditating, and which he again promises to his friend and himself, in the letter which stands next in the series,

was as well timed for his own prospects and future advancement, as if he had really been in the secret of Monk's intentions.

“ TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQ.

“ Portmore, Feb. 10, 1688.

“ HONOURED AND DEARE SIR, — I received yours of December 2, in very good time; but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it pleased God, about that time, to lay his gentle hand upon me; for I had beene, in the worst of our winter weather, sent for to Dublin by our late Anabaptist commissioners; and found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill: but, in my return, had my ill redoubled and fixed: but it hath pleased God to restore my health, I hope ‘ ad majorem Dei gloriam;’ and now that I can easily write, I return you my very hearty thanks for your very obliging letter, and particularly for the inclosed. Sir; the Apology you were pleased to send me, I read both privately and heard it read publikely with no little pleasure and satisfaction. The materials are worthy, and the dress is clean, and orderly, and beauteous; and I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice: it is impossible but it must doe good to those guilty persons to whom it is not impossible to repent. Your Character hath a great part of a worthy reward, that it is translated into a language in which it is likely to be read by very many ‘ beaux

esprits.' But that which I promise to myself as an excellent entertainment, is your 'Elysium Britannicum*.' But, Sir, being you intend it to the purposes of piety as well as pleasure, why doe you not rather call it Paradisus than Elysium; since the word is used by the Hellenish Jewes to signify any place of spiritual and immaterial pleasure, and excludes not the material and secular. Sir; I know you are such a 'curieux,' and withal so diligent and inquisitive, that not many things of the delicacy of learning, relating to your subject, can escape you; and, therefore, it would be great imprudence in me to offer my little mite to your already digested heape. I hope, ere long, to have the honour to waite on you, and to see some parts and steps of your progression: and then if I see I can bring any thing to your building, though but hair and stickes, I shall not be wanting in expressing my readinesse to serve and to honour you, and to promote such a worke, than which I thinke, in the world, you could not have chosen a more apt and a more ingenious.

"Sir; I do really beare a share in your feares and your sorrowes for your deare boy. I doe and shall pray to God for him; but I know not what to say in such things. If God intends, by these clouds, to convey him and you to brighter graces and more illustrious glories respectively; I dare not, with too

much passion, speake against the so great good of a person that is so deare to me and a child that is so deare to you. But I hope that God will doe what is best : and I humbly beg of him to choose what is that best for you both. As soon as the weather and season of the spring gives leave, I intend, by God's permission, to returne to England : and when I come to London with the first to waite on you, for whom I have so great regard, and from whom I have received so many testimonies of a worthy friendship, and in whom I know so much worthinesse is deposited.

“ I am, most faithfully and cordially,

“ Your very affectionate and obliged servant,

“ JER. TAYLOR.”

This journey to London, though probably undertaken with no further expectations than of seeing his friends, and giving the last inspection to his ‘ Ductor Dubitantium,’ in its progress through the press,—was propitious to Taylor’s advancement. His name appeared among the signatures of loyalists in London and its vicinity, affixed to their declaration of April 24, 1660, in which they expressed the moderation of their views, and their confidence

in the wisdom and justice of Monk and his government. He was thus advantageously brought under the notice of his sovereign, on his return to the throne, as a faithful adherent to monarchy and episcopacy; and had the opportunity of dedicating to him the great work, to which his best years had been devoted,—on which, of all his compositions, he had bestowed the most time and labour, the most anxiety and prayer,—and in which, of all others, he seems to have pleased himself with the idea that he was laying the foundations of his future fame, and rendering an acceptable service to the cause of morality and religion.

It may be doubted whether the manner in which it has been received has altogether answered these anticipations. With all its learning, most widely ransacked and most prodigally displayed—with all its acuteness of argument and criticism, its strong practical good sense, and its admirable moderation—the “*Ductor Dubitantium*” has, perhaps, been among the least read and least popular of his writings. The world have been less anxious to study than to talk of and admire it; its object, even at its first appearance, was, in some degree, accounted obsolete, and its sphere of utility limited; and, while his devotional works have found their way into every closet and every cottage, his ‘opus magnum’ reposes on the shelves of our libraries, in company with the neglected giants of an earlier

day, the ‘*Summa Sententiarum*,’ and the writings of Duns Scotus.

How far this neglect is merited or undeserved, — how far it is inherent in the nature of his design, or incidental to the manner in which that design is executed, — a better opportunity will hereafter be afforded for inquiring. I will here only observe, that the times in which it appeared had, in themselves, a natural and inevitable tendency to rob the ‘*Ductor Dubitantium*’ of even its due share of popular notice and favour. The country was in a state of feverish excitation, which left men little desire, and less leisure, to open folios of casuistry. Every body was agitated by the consciousness of having deserved well or ill of the restored monarch and his family; and the hopes of preferment, — the fears of persecution, — the triumph of the loyal, — and the doubts of those few who saw deeper into Charles’s character, — were succeeded by a long and disgusting course of tyranny and civil dissension, and by a school of literature and composition, of all others which this country has seen, the least favourable to genius, and the most unlike that style of thinking and expression, which had distinguished Jeremy Taylor and his contemporaries.

After the completion of a work of such magnitude and importance, it would, with most men, have been no more than was to be expected, that they should suspend awhile the labours of composition. But the

rapidity of Taylor's pen was such, that it is necessary to mark the fact, that only one more work of his appeared this year, — the "Worthy Communicant," — accompanied by his beautiful sermon at the funeral of Sir George Dalstone. The dowager princess of Orange was at this time in England, on a visit of congratulation to her brother; and the volume is inscribed to her, in a dedication in which Taylor eulogises not only her virtues, but those of the king, in a strain which may be forgiven to a triumphant loyalist, when speaking of a young and graceful monarch, whose dignified and prudent conduct under misfortune, and whose supposed constancy in maintaining, against all temptations, his allegiance to the Church of England, had inspired hopes of a wisdom and piety, which his subsequent conduct but too lamentably disappointed.

The merits which Taylor had to plead with the restored government, were exceeded by those of few persons in his profession. Of all the episcopal clergy, old Sanderson alone, perhaps, excepted, there was none who could compete with him in the renown of learning and genius. His character had remained unsullied by any compliance with the factious or fanatical party, during the time of their greatest triumphs. He had been the object of a more than common suspicion and severity, on the part of the usurping government; and even his polemical antagonists were in the habit of bearing testimony to

his blameless life, and the ardour of his piety. Whether his union with the king's natural sister was known or pleaded, may, perhaps, be doubted. If it were, it is possible that this circumstance may have contributed to determine the scene of his promotion; and that Charles was not unwilling to remove to a distance a person whose piety might lead him to reprove many parts of his conduct, and who would have a plausible pretence for speaking more freely than the rest of the dignified clergy.

It may be believed, however, that Taylor himself would be by no means displeased with his destination, though, in some respects, a more obscure one than, from the circumstances enumerated, he might have looked for. His family were already in Ireland, and, though the Mandinam property was now relieved from sequestration, the state of his worldly affairs can hardly have been such as to make the expense of removal desirable. To the country of his refuge he seems to have felt considerable attachment; — and the persuasions of the marquess, afterwards duke of Ormond, who was the great pillar of the episcopal cause, and who was extremely and laudably solicitous to fill the sees of his native kingdom with learning and piety, would naturally be employed both to forward the appointment and reconcile him to it. He was, accordingly, nominated, on the 6th of August, after the king's return, under the privy seal, to the bishopric of Down and Connor; and, shortly after,

elected, by Ormond's recommendation, vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin*.

These situations were very far from sinecures. In the university every thing was to be undone and begun anew, in consequence of the disorders introduced during the time of the commonwealth. The revenues had been dilapidated, and the land, in many instances, alienated. None of the members then in possession had any legal title either to scholarship or fellowship; all having been introduced by irregular elections, or by the direct interference of the usurping government. And as, by the statutes of the college, no election could be made but by the provost, and the concurring votes of at least four seniors, it was proposed by Taylor, that himself, as vice-chancellor, — the archbishop of Dublin, as visitor, — and the new provost, who was appointed by the crown, — should be empowered, by their own authority, to elect seven senior fellows, who were to serve as a nucleus from which the society should again take its beginning. Ormond, however, chose to keep this appointment in his own hands, though he so far complied with the proposal as to desire the vice-chancellor and provost to recommend five persons who might, by the royal authority, be made fel-

* Rot. Pat. Canc. Hibern. 2nda pars. f. 14, 15. — For this date and reference, I am obliged to the kindness of Mr. Monk Mason.

lows ; and Taylor had, in consequence, the satisfaction of procuring a fellowship for his friend Dr. Stearne, already mentioned, (though a married man, and, therefore, not statutably eligible,) on the plea that, in so great a scarcity of able candidates, his learning, and long acquaintance with the college, made his presence absolutely necessary. In the mean time, Taylor undertook the task of collecting, arranging, revising, and completing the body of statutes which bishop Bedell had left unfinished ; — in settling the form and conditions under which degrees were to be conferred ; — in appointing public lectures and disputations ; — and in laying the basis of the distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since retained, in spite of its unfortunate situation in a luxurious metropolis, and the disadvantageous competition which it has been compelled to carry on with the elder and more extensive establishments of the sister kingdom*.

His labours in his diocese were still greater, and their result, at first, far less satisfactory, inasmuch as their scope was more extended, and the prejudices against which he had to contend were of deeper root, and involved more important interests.

It has happened almost uniformly, in cases of religious difference, that those schisms have been most bitter, if not most lasting, which have arisen on

topics of dispute comparatively unimportant, and where the contending parties had, apparently, least to concede, and least to tolerate. Nor are there many instances on record which more fully and more unfortunately exemplify this general observation, than that of the quarrel and final secession of the puritan clergy from the church, in the year 1662. Both parties, in that case, were agreed on the essentials of Christianity. Both professed themselves not unwilling to keep out of sight, and mutually endure, the few doctrinal points on which a difference existed between them. The leading puritans were even disposed to submit to that episcopal government, their opposition to which, during former reigns, had created so much disturbance, and had led, by degrees, to such abundant bloodshed and anarchy. And it is no less true than strange, that this great quarrel, which divided so many holy and learned preachers of the common faith, was occasioned and perpetuated by men, who, chiefly resting their objections to the form and colour of an ecclesiastical garment, the wording of a prayer, or the injunction of kneeling at the eucharist, were willing, for questions like these, to disturb the peace of the religious world, and subject themselves to the same severities which they had previously inflicted on the episcopal clergy.

With these men, whether in England or Ireland, there were apparently only three lines of conduct for the ruling powers to follow. The first was the

adoption of such a liturgy and form of church government as would, at once, satisfy the advocates of episcopacy and presbytery. This was attempted in vain; and was, indeed, a measure, the failure of which, a very slight attention to the prejudices and animosity of both parties would have enabled a bystander to anticipate. The second was that which was, at least virtually, promised by the king in the Declaration of Breda; that, namely, uniformity of discipline and worship should, for the present, not be insisted on; that the Presbyterian and Independent preachers should, during their lives, be continued in the churches where they were settled; ejecting only those who had been forcibly intruded, to the prejudice of persons yet alive, and who might legally claim re-instatement; and filling up the vacancies of such as died, with ministers episcopally ordained and canonically obedient. In this case, it is possible that, as the stream of preferment and patronage would have been confined to those who conformed, as the great body of the nation were strongly attached to the liturgy, and gave a manifest preference to those churches where it was used*; and, as the covenanting clergy would have no longer been under the influence of that point of honour, which, when its observance was compulsory, induced them to hold out against it, — the more moderate, even of

* Clarendon, *Life*, p. 157. ed. 1759.

the existing generation, would have by degrees complied with their own interests and the inclination of their flocks; while the course of nature, and the increasing infirmities of age, must, in a few years, have materially diminished the numbers and influence of the more pertinacious. We have found, in fact, by experience, that the liturgy has, through its intrinsic merits, obtained, by degrees, no small degree of reverence even among those who, on other grounds, or on no grounds at all, dissent from the church of England, as at present constituted. And it is possible that, by thus forbearing to press its observance on those whose minds were so ill prepared to receive it, a generation would soon have arisen, to whom their objections would have appeared in their natural weakness; and the greatest and least rational of those schisms have been prevented, which have destroyed the peace and endangered the existence of the British churches.

But, while we, at the present day, are amusing ourselves with schemes of what we should have done had we lived in the time of our fathers, it may be well, for the justification of these last, to consider how little the principles of toleration were then understood by either party; how deeply and how recently the episcopal clergy, and even the laity of the same persuasion, had suffered from the very persons who now called on them for forbearance; how ill the few measures which were really proposed, of a concili-

atory nature, were met by the disingenuousness of some of the presbyterian leaders, and the absurd bigotry of others*, and the reasonable suspicion which was thus excited, that nothing would content them but the entire proscription of the forms to which they objected. Nor can we greatly wonder, that, under such circumstances, the third and simplest course was adopted,—that, namely, of imposing afresh on all a liturgy, to which the great body of the people was ardently attached; and the disuse of which, in any particular parishes, (when the majority of congregations enjoyed it,) was likely to be attended with abundant discontent and inconvenience. These considerations are, indeed, no apology for the fresh aggressions of which the episcopalian party were guilty; for their unseasonable though well intended alterations of the liturgy; and the hostile clauses inserted in their new Act of Uniformity. Far less can they extenuate the absurd wickedness of the persecution afterwards resorted to against those whom these measures had confirmed in their schism. But they may lead us to apprehend that, (though a very few concessions more would have kept such men as Baxter and Philip Henry in the church,) there would have been very many whom no concession would have satisfied; and that the offence of schism was, in a great degree, inevitable: though a different

course, on the side of the victorious party, might have rendered it of less wide diffusion, and of less deep and lasting malignancy.

If a temper thus unfavourable to peace prevailed in England, there is reason to believe that in Ireland it was still more powerful. Even among the episcopalian clergy, during the continuance of their establishment, no inconsiderable leaven of puritanism had been found; and the venerable Usher himself, though, during the triumph of Calvinism, he saw reasons for altering his sentiments, gave encouragement, at an earlier period, by his example and his patronage, to these unattractive and gloomy tenets. But, by the absurd and most miserable rebellion of the Roman Catholics, begun in rashness and miscalculation by the crazy patriotism of Roger More; carried on in folly and brutal cruelty by the drunken O'Neil, and the savage rabble, whom he could neither lead nor control; and suppressed by a system of military tyranny the most perfect, the most effectual, the most wicked, and remorseless, of which Christendom affords an example; — the Protestant episcopal clergy had all been swept away from that ill-starred kingdom. Their places had been supplied by the most zealous adherents of the commonwealth and the covenant, who were supported by the majority of those who had profited during the merciless system of confiscation which Cromwell had put in practice, and by the officers and men of a numerous army,

formed in his school and under his immediate auspices, whom the government could neither pay nor discharge; — and who, though they had concurred in the restoration of the crown, were very little disposed to sanction that of the mitre.

Already these men had gained confidence by the delay which intervened between the royal designation of the new bishops to their respective sees, and their solemn consecration to the sacred office. And it is probable that, but for the zeal of Ormond, seconded by his great popularity, and by the firmness of the small majority of Irish nobility and gentry who were attached, by old recollections and a sense of recent oppression, to the institutions which Calvinism had supplanted, the hierarchy and the Common Prayer would have had a similar and a yet earlier extinction in that kingdom than in Scotland. Fortunately for good taste and rational piety, the friends of both were triumphant; and, more happily still for the national honour and prosperity, the restoration of both was effected without any of those severities towards dissenters which, in England and Scotland, disgrace the annals of Charles the Second. Yet the year 1660 passed away without any steps being taken in favour of episcopacy; and it was only on January the 27th of the following year, that two archbishops and ten bishops were consecrated by Bramhall, formerly bishop of Derry, and now primate, with great pomp and loud exultation of the loyalists, in the cathedral

of St. Patrick. Of the bishops Taylor was one, and appointed to preach the sermon. Of his talents, indeed, the government in church and state seem to have been fully sensible, and naturally anxious to avail themselves, since it was he who was also called on to preach, on the 8th of May, before the two houses of Parliament; and again, before the primate, at his metropolitan visitation of Down and Connor.

Honours and preferment were now flowing fast upon him. In February he was made a member of the Irish Privy Council, and, on the 30th of April, in addition to his former diocese, was entrusted with the administration of the small adjacent one of Dromore, "on account," in the words of the writ under the privy seal, "of his virtue, wisdom, and industry*."

For all these good qualities, and for patience more than all, the state of his dioceses afforded him, indeed, abundant occasion. It was in this part of Ireland, more than any other, that the clearance of the episcopalian clergy had been most effectual, and that their places had been supplied by the sturdiest champions of the covenant, taken for the most part from the west of Scotland, — disciples of Cameron, Renwick, and Peden, and professing, in the wildest and most gloomy sense, the austere principles of

* Rot. Pat. 13 Car. II. 2nda pars, facie. See also Harris's Ware, p. 265.

their party. Such men as these, more prejudiced in proportion as they were worse educated than the other adherents of Calvin, were neither to be impressed by the zeal with which the new prelate discharged the duties of his station, nor softened by the tenderness and charity expressed in his deportment towards themselves. It was in vain, so far as they were concerned, that he preached every Sunday in different churches of his diocese ; that he invited his clergy to friendly conferences ; that he personally called at their houses ; employed the good offices of pious laymen of their own persuasion, and offered his best endeavours to give satisfaction or obtain relief for their scruples.

In answer to these advances, the pulpits resounded with exhortations to stand by the covenant even unto blood ; with bitter invectives against the episcopal order, and against Taylor more particularly : while the preachers entered into a new engagement among themselves, “ to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons.” The virtues and eloquence of Taylor, however, were not without effect on the laity ; who were, at the same time, offended by the refusal of their pastors to attend a public conference. The nobility and gentry of the three dioceses, with one single exception, came over, by degrees, to the bishop's side ; and we are even assured by Carte, that, during the two years which intervened before the enforcement of the Act of

Uniformity, the great majority of the ministers themselves had yielded, if not to his arguments, to his persevering kindness and Christian example*.

In the mean time, however, some traces of disappointment and irritation are, I think, perceivable in his sermon before the two houses of Parliament. He there inveighs with some asperity against such as thought it a less sin to stand in separation from the church, than to stand in a clean white garment : and observes, that “ we have seen the vilest part of mankind, men that have done things so horrid, worse than which the sun never saw, yet pretend tender consciences against ecclesiastical laws.” He urges, forcibly and ably, that, in things indifferent or doubtful, it must be safe to follow the decision of our superiors ; that, in all cases, obedience is free from those results which are the greatest aggravation of the crime of heresy ; and that, therefore, in the great majority of cases, dissent is more dangerous than conformity. He presses the consideration that no laws can stand at all, if all who dislike them may plead conscience as an exemption ; and he presses also, (what is easily said in the case of our brother, but what every man in his own case receives with difficulty,) that they who dislike the discipline of a church are at liberty to resign their preferments †.

We shall do him an injustice, however, if we sup-

* Carte, ubi supra.

† Vol. vi. p. cccxxxi. et seq.

pose him to hold these doctrines without qualification; without allowances for invincible prejudice, for human infirmity, and the many other considerations which must be taken into account in every reformation or return to original principles. On the contrary, he expresses a hope that, in all measures to be adopted for the government of the church, wherever "weak brethren shall still plead for toleration and compliance, the bishops would consider where it can do good and do no harm; where they are permitted, and where they are themselves tied up by the laws; and in all things where it is safe and holy, to labour to give them ease and bring them remedy."

And there is one circumstance which it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind while forming our opinion on this part of Taylor's conduct; that, namely, the obedience which he claims, as due to the laws of ecclesiastical superiors, is that obedience only which is paid by the members of their own communion. It is, in fact, no more than the privilege (which every Christian society exerts and must exert for its own preservation), to have the offices of its ministry supplied by such men as conform to the regulations imposed by the body at large, or those to whom its powers are delegated.

On *toleration*, properly so called, in its civil sense and on its broadest foundation, he has, in this discourse, said nothing at variance with his *Liberty of*

Prophesying. And so far is any thing which he here advances from sanctioning those penal enactments which the jealousy of succeeding parliaments directed against the professors of other creeds, that his main argument proceeds on the supposition that sects who could not agree might charitably differ. The model, in short, of mutual forbearance, which he proposed to his countrymen, was the same with that exhibited by the ruling and notoriously tolerant churches of Geneva, Switzerland, and the Low Countries : who arranged their own internal concerns as they themselves thought most expedient, but who never attempted to disturb the liberties of those who conscientiously forsook their communion.

And if, in an orator of Taylor's principles, a more definite caution is required against the crime of religious persecution, let it be remembered, that he could not have foreseen the temper in which the work now begun was afterwards carried on and completed. The declarations of the king had hitherto breathed nothing but conciliation and indulgence to weak consciences ; and, from the known principles of many of the leading characters of the Irish Parliament, the episcopalians of that nation, in particular, had no reason to apprehend* that too little regard would be shewn to the wishes of the puritans.*

One subject there was, however, on which an abundant share of the Christian virtues of disinter-

estedness, forgiveness, justice, and compassion, was no more than necessary to guide his auditors to a right decision ;—a decision in which the interests and even existence of many thousand families were implicated, and which some of the worst and strongest feelings of avarice, party spirit, and deeply rooted hostility, conspired to pervert or embarrass. I mean the question of the Irish confiscated estates; on which it is gratifying to find Taylor speaking with the discrimination of one who well understood the affairs of that kingdom, no less than with that authority and earnestness which it becomes a Christian bishop to display on the side of the oppressed and unfortunate.

“ Ye cannot obey God unless you do justice: for this also ‘ is better than sacrifice,’ said Solomon. For Christ, who is the sun of righteousness, is a sun and shield to them that do righteously. The Indian was not immured sufficiently by the Atlantic sea, nor the Bosphoran by the walls of ice, nor the Arabian by his meridian sun: the Christian justice of the Roman princes brake through all enclosures, and by justice, set up Christ’s standard, and gave to all the world a testimony how much could be done by prudence and valour, when they were conducted by the hands of justice: and now you will have a great trial of this part of your obedience to God.

“ For you are to give sentence in the causes of half a nation: and he had need to be a wise and a

good man that divides the inheritance amongst brethren; that he may not be abused by contrary pretences,—nor biassed by the interest of friends,—nor transported with the unjust thoughts even of a just revenge,—nor allured by the opportunities of spoil,—nor turned aside by partiality in his own concerns,—nor blinded by gold, which puts out the eyes of wise men,—nor cozened by pretended zeal,—nor wearied with the difficulty of questions,—nor directed by a general measure in cases not measurable by it,—nor borne down by prejudice,—nor abused by resolutions taken before the cause be heard,—nor overruled by national interests. For justice ought to be the simplest thing in the world, and is to be measured by nothing but by truth, and by laws, and by the decrees of princes. *But, whatever you do, let not the pretence of a different religion make you think it lawful to oppress any man in his just rights: for opinions are not, but laws only, and ‘doing as we would be done to,’ are the measures of justice: and, though justice does alike to all men, Jew and Christian, Lutheran and Calvinist; yet, to do right to them that are of another opinion is the way to win them: but if you, for conscience sake, do them wrong, they will hate both you and your religion.*

“Lastly; as ‘obedience is better than sacrifice,’ so God also said, ‘I will have mercy and not sacrifice;’ meaning, that mercy is the best obedience.
 ‘Perierat totum quod Deus fecerat, nisi misericordia

subvenisset,' said Chrysologus: all the creatures both of heaven and earth would perish, if mercy did not relieve us all. Other good things, more or less, every man expects according to the portion of his fortune. 'Ex clementia omnes idem sperant;' but from mercy and clemency all the world alike do expect advantages. And which of us all stands here this day, that does not need God's pardon and the king's? Surely no man is so much pleased with his own innocence, as that he will be willing to quit his claim to mercy: and, if we all need it, let us all shew it.

*'Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans
Et minor igne rogi!'*

"If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave a little before her intended marriage, or an infant die before the birth of reason, nature has taught us to pay a tributary tear. Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which, though they sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that, when the light of heaven shines on it, it may produce a rainbow, to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies, and we also esteem it indecent to have music at a funeral. And, as religion teaches

us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. *You must, indeed, be as just as the laws: and you must be as merciful as your religion: and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the Mount; do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy!"*

Occupied as Taylor now was, his contributions to the press were not likely to be frequent or considerable; and, except his Consecration Sermon, his Sermon before the Parliament, and a small manual of rules for his clergy (of whom, it hence appears, he had already reconciled no inconsiderable number,) we are acquainted with no other publications of his during this year. These he mentions, more slightly than they deserve, in the following letter.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Dublin, November 16, 1661.

"DEARE SIR,—Your owne worthinesse and the obligations you have so often pass'd upon me have imprinted in me so great a value and kindnesse to your person, that I thinke myselfe not a little concerned in your selfe and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shal we expect your 'Terrestrial Paradise,' your excellent observa-

tions and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your owne kind hand: and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent [an] idea; for as a father in his son's face, so is a man's soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of publicke concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful imployment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston (the bookseller) hath two Sermons and a little Collection of Rules for my Clergy, which had beene presented to you if I had thought [them] fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

" Dear Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr. Thurland: let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his. I am,

" DEARE SIR,

" Your most affectionate friend,

" JEREM. DUNENSIS."*

This is the last letter which has been yet discovered between the two friends. I am loath to think that their correspondence terminated here, though it appears probable, from some expressions of Taylor's, that it had already begun to slacken, and that this languor had first commenced on the part of Evelyn. The latter, however, as appears from his Diary, continued to regard Taylor with unmingled feelings of respect and esteem; and, when speaking, many years after, of Mary Marsh, he calls her "the daughter of his worthy and pious friend, the late bishop of Down and Connor." That friend, however, was then no more; and if we are really to account for the apparent cessation of correspondence by the supposition that an affection, founded in similarity of sentiment, and cemented by benefits and prayers, though it had withstood the severest blasts of adversity, had gradually faded under the influence of long continued absence and change of circumstances and occupation; it will be only another proof how vain is that life, where even our best and noblest ties are subject to dissolution and decay; and how valuable is that hope which teaches us, that the love which is founded in virtue and piety shall revive again, and continue to form, in part, the happiness of an existence where neither absence nor change is to be feared!

During this year, Taylor had again experienced the hand of Providence weighing heavily on his domestic comforts. On the 10th of March, his son

Edward was buried at Lisburn,—the only surviving son, as I apprehend, of his second marriage. He had found also an occasion for his pious munificence in the ruined state of his cathedral at Dromore, of which he rebuilt the choir at his own expense: his wife (not his daughter, as has been generally supposed,) contributing the communion plate.*

During this year, too, he invited over George Rust, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, with a promise of conferring on him the deanery of Connor, which was expected to be shortly vacant. Rust was afterwards Taylor's successor in the see of Dromore, and preached his Funeral Sermon: a work to which we are obliged, in the paucity of other materials, for our knowledge of many leading circumstances of his life, his fortunes, and character. It is remarkable that the preacher himself, though an eminent person in his day, and though his friend Glanville has extolled him as a profound divine, a powerful orator, and an admirable philosopher, is now chiefly, if not altogether, recollected through his accidental connexion with the more illustrious memory of his predecessor.

Of Taylor's domestic concerns, at this time, little more is known than that he continued to occupy his favourite retirement of Portmore, where he had a house and farm, and lived in intimate friendship with the family of Lord Conway. For our knowledge

even of these particulars, which are, however, confirmed by the fact that his son Edward was buried at Lisburn, we are indebted to two strange stories in 'that strange book the "Sadducismus Triumphatus," of Glanville, edited and enlarged by More, which, (though its ravenous credulity and ghostly frontispieces may, at present, be thought only proper to alarm a nursery,) displays in some of its arguments much of that singular Platonic learning by which its author and editor were distinguished, and has, undoubtedly, adduced some evidences of apparitions which it is easier to ridicule than to disprove.

One of these was a spirit, supposed, on Michaelmas-day in the year 1662, to appear to one Francis Taverner, "a lusty, proper, stout fellow, then servant at large, afterwards porter, to the Lord Chichester, Earl of Donegal," near Drumbridge, in the county of Antrim, and in Taylor's diocese of Connor. The object of the ghost's return to earth, which he should seem to have effected in a respectable gentlemanly style, on horseback, and in a white coat,—was to recover for his orphan boy a lease of which his widow and her second husband had wronged him. Taylor, who was then holding his visitation at Dromore, appears to have been desired to examine Taverner respecting what he had seen and heard; and is said by the narrator of the story, a certain Mr. Alcock, his secretary, to have been satisfied as to the truth of the narration. On a second meeting,

however, with Taverner, at Lord Donegal's house, and in company with "my Lady Conway and other persons of quality,"—he furnished Taverner with a string of interrogatories which he was to propose to the spirit on its next appearance, which sufficiently proved he was little inclined to "take the ghost's word for a thousand pounds."

The attention, however, attracted by Taverner's story, was sufficient, the following year, to make one David Hunter, the bishop's own neat-herd, commence ghost-seer in his turn, and leave his bed every night, for three quarters of a year, to follow, though sorely against his will, the spirit of an old woman through the neighbouring woods, till at length he had the courage to speak to her. Good Lady Conway was convinced of his being really under no delusion, but it does not appear that Taylor paid any attention to his story. The narrative, however, is, on all accounts, curious, and not the less so as proving the fact of the bishop's residence and farm at Portmarnock.

On the questions proposed to Taverner's aerial visitant, some bitter criticisms appear in the "Illustrious Providences" of Increase Mather, printed at Boston, 1684, p. 225. The present generation will pass a milder censure on him. What Taylor's sentiments were on the general question of departed spirits re-appearing, may be learned from the manner in which he treats the apparitions alleged by the Romish priests in behalf of the doctrine of purgatory.

tory,—after instancing some of which in a strain of powerful sarcasm, he goes on to say that,

“ Against this way of proceeding we think fit to admonish the people of our charges, that, besides that the Scriptures expressly forbid us to inquire of the dead for truth ; the holy doctors of the church, particularly Tertullian, St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, Isidor, and Theophylact, deny that the souls of the dead ever do appear ; and bring many reasons to prove that it is unfitting they should ; saying, if they did, it would be the cause of many errors, and the devils, under that pretence, might easily abuse the world with notices and revelations of their own ; and because Christ would have us content with Moses and the prophets, and especially, to ‘ hear that prophet whom the Lord our God hath raised up’ amongst us, our blessed Jesus, who never taught any such doctrine to his church.”*

He had, as we have seen, complained to Evelyn of the interruptions which his present duties offered to his more beloved studies ; and, in 1662, nothing of his composition issued from the press but the “ *Via Intelligentiæ*,” a sermon preached before the university of Dublin, on the same plan (he tells us), and following the same ideas, though in different words, with that which he had preached, but not published, the year before, at the archiepiscopal visita-

* Dissuasive from Popery, vol. x. p. 152. Note (J.J.)

tion. Its purport is, in a great measure, the same which he had partly insisted on in his *Liberty of Prophesying*,—that the likeliest way to avoid all religious errors, and the only and certain way to prevent our errors from being damnable, is to apply ourselves to the practice of holiness, piety, and charity, and to the teaching of that Holy Spirit, whose aid, in all things essential to salvation, will never be wanting to the sincere, the humble, and the pure. There are some expressions in this discourse which have been too hastily interpreted into an abandonment, or at least a qualification, of the large notions of religious liberty which, in his *Θεολογία ἐκλεκτική*, he had so powerfully supported. A comparison of the corresponding passages in each will, however, clear him from this imputation, and prove that, in admitting the legality of any coercion in such matters, he only means, what he had never denied, that if the consequences of the opinion are injurious to the peace of society, it may, accidentally, become a question of policy, how far the publication of the opinion should be allowed. Thus, in his *Liberty of Prophesying*, he had explicitly admitted, that, “if either the teachers of an opinion themselves, or their doctrine, do really, and without colour or feigned pretext, disturb the public peace and just interests, they are not to be suffered.”* And this is all which

* *Lib. of Prophe* vol. viii. p. 145.

he can be fairly said to allow in his present sermon, when, after saying, what is most true, that the object of toleration is, in the first instance, not truth, but peace, he urges, that when “by opinions men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as certain, they ought not to be made public and permitted.”* I do not say that such an admission, unless restricted within narrow bounds, and guarded with greater precision than, either here or in the Liberty of Prophecy, Taylor has employed, may not be dangerous to the principles which he has elsewhere, with such admirable ability, supported. A better opportunity will, ere long, present itself, of examining the extent and clearness of his views on this most interesting subject. But it is of consequence to his moral, no less than his philosophical character, to shew that his opinions were the same at different periods of his life, and under very different circumstances. And it is perfectly apparent, from the general tenour and tendency of the discourse of which I am speaking, that he was as tolerant as ever of religious differences, simply taken. Nor am I acquainted with any composition of human eloquence which is more deeply imbued with a spirit of practical holiness,—which more powerfully attracts the attention of men from the subtilities of theology to the duties and charities of religion,—or which evinces a more lofty

* Sermon before the Univ. of Dublin, vol. vi. p. 378.

disdain of those trifling subjects of dispute which, then or since, have divided the Protestant churches.

“The way,” he tells us, “to judge of religion, is by doing of our duty : and theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge. In heaven, indeed, we must first see, and then love ; but here, on earth, we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts ; and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand.”

In pursuance of this train of thought, he goes on to shew how strangely vice and self-interest have power to clog and hebetate the understanding ; how necessary is the aid of God’s Spirit to direct the will aright ; and how much that spiritual assistance which is really and ordinarily promised in Scripture, differs from the new revelations, the visions and the ecstasies, which fanatics, both in the Roman and Protestant churches, have expected or pretended to. He describes the Holy Ghost as a Spirit who “does not spend his holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding ;” who “does not destroy reason, but heightens it ;” who “goes in company with his own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life ; his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his graces pursue the methods of nature : that which was imperfect, he leads on to perfection ; and that which was weak, he makes strong : he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to

hear the word of God ; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one ; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the word of God, but we can never understand it ; we hear the sound, but we are never the better ; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the Gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God."

After enlarging, in a strain of exalted eloquence and poetry, on the internal privileges of the truly good and sanctified by the communion of God's Spirit, he explains the knowledge which a holy man possesses of the mysteries of religion, compared with that of a more learned but worldly professor of Christianity, as excelling the latter in the same way that experience excels theory, and practice speculation. "What learning is it to discourse of the philosophy of the sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it ? and the man that can with eloquence and subtilty discourse of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him who hath the answer of a good conscience within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the question concern any thing that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowledge and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart ? and how can an evil and unworthy communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell

with him, to be united to him, to receive him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the colour, and the other feels the substance; the one discourses of the sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be changed, and so joined to Christ, that he only understands the true sense of transubstantiation, while he becomes to Christ bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord. 'The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things.' Well: there is our teacher told of plainly; but how shall we obtain this teacher, and how shall we be taught? Christ will pray for us, that we may have this spirit. That is well: but shall all Christians have the Spirit? Yes, all that will live like Christians; for so said Christ,—'If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.' Mark these things. The Spirit of God is to be our teacher; he will abide with us for ever to be our teacher; he will teach us all things; but how? If ye love Christ, if ye keep his commandments, but not else: if ye be of the world, that is, of worldly affections, ye cannot see him, ye cannot know him."

After applying the test of conformity to God's commandments to the spirit in which the religious

disputes of his time had chiefly been carried on, and the doctrines which had been insisted on;—after observing, that “he that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a war for the defence of his opinion, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness;” that he who, “for the garments and outsides of religion,” neglects the duty of obedience to his superiors, “is a man of fancy and of the world,” rather than of God and the Spirit; and that “that is no good religion that disturbs governments, or shakes the foundation of public peace;”—he closes his discourse with an exhortation to those who were his immediate auditors, which they can hardly have heard without their hearts burning within them.

“To you, fathers and brethren,—you, who are, or intend to be, of the clergy; you see here the best compendium of your studies, the best abbreviature of your labours, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way, of judging concerning the disputes and questions in Christendom. It is not by reading multitudes of books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious commentaries of the doctors that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the Spirit of God: it is not by the rules of metaphysics, but by the proportions of holiness: and, when all books are read, and all arguments examined, and all authorities alleged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. ‘Give yourselves to reading, to exhorta-

tion, and to doctrine,' saith St. Paul. Read all good books you can; but exhortation unto good life is the best instrument, and the best teacher of true doctrine, of that which is according to godliness.

" And let me tell you this: the great learning of the fathers was more owing to their piety than to their skill; more to God than to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of St. Chrysostom, with which I will conclude: ' O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, from whom the devils fled, and heretics did fear them, who (by holiness) have stopped the mouths of them that spake perverse things! But I, like David, will cry out, Where are thy loving-kindnesses which have been even of old? Where is the blessed quire of bishops and doctors, who shined like lights in the world, and contained the word of life? ' Dulce est meminisse;' their very memory is pleasant. Where is that Evodias, the sweet savour of the church, the successor and imitator of the holy apostles? Where is Ignatius, in whom God dwelt? Where is St. Dionysius, the Areopagite, that bird of Paradise, that celestial eagle? Where is Hippolytus, that good man, ἀνὴρ χρηστός, that gentle sweet person? Where is great St. Basil, a man almost equal to the apostles? Where is Athanasius, rich in virtue? Where is Gregory Nyssen, that great divine? And Ephrem, the great Syrian, that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the

afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline ; the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the Holy Ghost ?—These were the men that prevailed against error, because they lived according to truth ; and whoever shall oppose you, and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives than by your disputations. Let your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you, and then you will best silence them : for all heresies and false doctrines are but like Myron's counterfeit cow, it deceived none but beasts ; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lie, and live according to it. But, if ye become burning and shining lights ; if ye do not detain the truth in unrighteousness ; if ye walk in light and live in the Spirit ; your doctrines will be true, and that truth will prevail. But if ye live wickedly and scandalously, every little schismatic shall put you to shame, and draw disciples after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with colocynths and hemlock, and place heresy in the chairs appointed for your religion.

“ I pray God give you all grace to follow this wisdom, to study this learning, to labour for the understanding of godliness ; so your time and your studies, your persons and your labours, will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficial to men, and pleasing to God, through him who is the wisdom

of the Father, who is made to all them that love him wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

In 1663, Taylor published his *Χριστις Τελεσιωτικη*, "A Defence and Introduction to the Rite of Confirmation," dedicated to the Duke of Ormond;—three Sermons, preached at Christ Church, Dublin;—and a Funeral Sermon on the Primate Bramhall, full of curious information concerning the secret history of the times, and the pains which had been taken, with more success than was then generally known or apprehended, to pervert the exiled king from the faith of his countrymen. He was now also busied on the last considerable work which he lived to publish,—his "Dissuasive from Popery,"—which appeared in 1664.

This task he had undertaken by desire of the collective body of Irish bishops; and their injunctions, and the obvious necessity of the measure, he represents as his only motives for again embarking in so troublous a sea, notwithstanding his great and increasing aversion to that and every other controversy. It was difficult, however, for any good man to survey the follies and idolatries of popery, as they subsisted around him in their most revolting forms, without being anxious, by every means in his power, to abate the evil, or prevent its farther diffusion.

No part, indeed, of the administration of Ireland by the English crown, has been more extraordinary

and more unfortunate, than the system pursued for the introduction of the reformed religion. Instead of sending, in the first instance, missionaries well skilled in their native tongue to convince the inhabitants of the errors of their ancient faith, and conciliate them to a reception of the new, the churches were filled with English preachers, whose nation made them unpopular, and whose ignorance of the language which only their parishioners could speak or understand with readiness, prevented all extensive benefit from their zeal, however warm, and their abilities, however considerable. It was not even thought necessary to furnish them with a translation either of the liturgy or the Scriptures; though, by a refinement in absurdity, they were to be compelled by a fine (which, indeed, was rarely enforced,) to attendance on a church service which was still more unintelligible to them than their ancient mass book, without having the same early associations to recommend it to them. Accordingly, while Wales, from an opposite line of treatment, received the doctrines of the Reformation with avidity, and, at an early period, was become almost exclusively Protestant;—while the Norman Isles have ever since been amongst the most faithful adherents of the episcopal church, from the advantage of French preachers and a French service book,—Ireland, with a people above most others docile and susceptible of new impressions, has remained, through a great majority of her popu-

lation, in the profession of a creed discountenanced by the state, and under the dominion of prejudices which, even to the present moment, no effectual measures have been taken to remove. A few unconnected, though zealous, and, so far as they went, successful efforts to remove this ignorance, were made by such men as Usher and the excellent bishop Bedell, and afterwards by Mr. Boyle. But government, which ought to have given the first impulse, was bent on a narrow and illiberal policy of supplanting the Irish by the English language, to which the present moral and religious instruction of millions was to give way; and which, though it has in part succeeded, (through circumstances of which the march was altogether independent of the measures taken to forward it,) has left a division of the national heart, far worse than that of the tongue, and perpetuated prejudices, which might at first have been easily removed or softened. Even now, though the liturgy has been translated, and though there are many parishes where English is almost unknown,—throughout Ireland, if I am rightly informed, no public prayers are offered up in the ancient language; and though a version of the Scriptures has long existed, it is only within the few last years that any attempts have been made to circulate them among the poor.

It was, indeed, the misfortune of Ireland, and one which materially prevented the application of any

active means for the conversion of her natives to a pure mode of faith and worship, that among the English clergy, who were the first heralds of Protestantism to her shores, a large proportion were favourers of the peculiar system of Calvin;—a system, of all others, the least attractive to the feelings of a Roman Catholic; and the professors of which, as they looked on their brethren of the church of England as themselves little better than idolaters, have generally been more inclined to spend their zeal in a disturbance of the internal peace of their own communion, than in an energetic extension of the general principles of Protestantism among those who are without its pale. In England, during the reign of King Edward, when the great impression was, in fact, given to the public mind in favour of the monarch's creed, the points of difference which afterwards arose among its supporters were happily unknown, or wisely suppressed; and the transition in the external forms of worship was so small, and the changes which struck the common people most were all so obviously for the better, that even the ministers of the old religion had no good plea for withdrawing themselves from the church, and the body kept its ancient shape and substance, though its deformities were removed, and new blood infused throughout the system. To the Irish, Protestantism presented itself as a system on which its own members were not agreed; and, of Protestants, that

party which for a time gained the victory was precisely that one whose rites and doctrines were most at variance with all to which the Irish had been accustomed, and whose professors regarded the Irish Roman Catholic with most contempt and abhorrence. The unhappy rebellion of More and O'Neal, in 1641, loaded as the memory of its instigators must ever remain with the stain of folly, blood-guiltiness, and cruelty, was accelerated, no doubt, if not occasioned, by the oppression of Sir William Parsons and the other heads of the puritan faction; by a dread of those severities, the not inflicting of which on the Papists, the Calvinists, both in Ireland and England, made a leading charge against their sovereign, and by the interruption, through the influence of the same rising party, of the wise and benevolent, though vigorous policy, introduced in Ireland under the Stuart dynasty*.

On the consequences of that rebellion, — consequences even at the present day most deeply and injuriously felt by the church of Ireland and her national prosperity, — this is not the place to enlarge. It is only necessary to observe, that during Taylor's life, and at the time of which I am speaking, they existed in all their greatest and most recent deformity; and that, more particularly, the maintenance of the ancient religion was, with the

* Carte's *Life of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 138.

original Irish, a bond of union and mutual support,—a guarantee to their political existence,—a title to their alienated possessions,—and a pledge of their future vengeance on those by whom they had been despoiled. And, while the more educated classes of society had these cogent reasons for listening with reluctance to any thing which might be urged against the faith of their ancestors, the understandings and consciences of the illiterate peasantry were in the keeping of those who had still stronger motives of prejudice and interest to retain them in the old superstition. “The Roman religion,” as Taylor himself observes, “is here amongst us a faction, and a state party, and design to recover their old laws and barbarous manner of living,—a device to enable them to dwell alone, and to be ‘*populus unius labii*,’ a people of one language and unmingled with others. And if this be religion, it is such a one as ought to be reprov’d by all the severities of reason and religion, lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandise of souls, who were the purchase and price of Christ’s blood!”

Such obstacles as these a learned treatise on the errors of popery was not very likely to batter down, and the author himself appears to have been extremely far from anticipating any immediate or extensive success of his labours. “Having given,” are his words, “this sad account, why it was neces-

sary that my lords the bishops should take care to do what they have done in this affair, and why I did consent to be engaged in this controversy, otherwise than I love to be; and since it is not a love of trouble and contention, but charity to the souls of the poor deluded Irish; there is nothing remaining, but that we humbly desire of God to accept and to bless this well-meant labour of love; and that, by some admirable ways of his providence, he will be pleased to convey to them the notices of their danger and their sin, and to deobstruct the passages of necessary truth to them; for we know the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be suffered to arrive to the common people; but that which hinders will hinder, until it be taken away: however, we believe and hope in God for remedy*."

The remedy may, at first sight, appear to have been more in the power of Taylor and his brethren than they were themselves, perhaps, aware of. If the Roman Catholics, as he had previously complained in this same preface, were so studiously kept back by their spiritual guides from acquiring a knowledge of English, it was, surely, a very obvious measure for the preachers of the true faith to inform themselves in the ancient Irish. It was a course which Bedell had already tried with success, to

introduce, as far as possible, the Scriptures and the liturgy in that language into the churches; and to promote to the care of parishes, in preference to all others, such ministers as were able to cope with the friars on their own ground, and enable the peasants to hear the Gospel, every man in his own tongue wherein he was born.

Had such a system even then been adopted, it is impossible to suppose that much good might not have been effected; and this very discourse of Taylor's, though too long and too learned to penetrate among the mountains and into the cottages; yet, as furnishing the agents in the work of conversion with arguments adapted alike to the ignorant and the learned; with zeal increased in proportion to their own knowledge of the importance of the truths which they conveyed; and with that celestial armoury of spiritual weapons which his admirable knowledge of Scripture has supplied, — might have itself been a source of light to thousands; a means, in God's hand, of drying up the waters of bitterness, and removing the greatest obstacle which has existed to the peace and prosperity of the empire.

What peculiar *hinderances* they were to which he alludes, (and it is but reasonable as well as charitable to believe that some such intervened to prevent the adoption of a plan so apparently obvious,) whether they were confined to Taylor's own diocese, or arose from the general

state of the country and the neglect or impolicy of its government, it is now by no means easy to determine. The restoration of the Protestant episcopal church seems to have been a juncture peculiarly favourable for such exertions as I have mentioned; and it is difficult to suppose that forms so like their own, and doctrines so conformable to reason, would have produced a less effect on the minds of the Irish, than has since been done by the preaching of the wildest and most ignorant sectaries.

But, for the neglect or the oversight, if such existed, it was not Taylor who was chiefly answerable. He was one of many, and in rank not among the most eminent; and he was already sinking under the burthen, not of years, but of a constitution broken with study and adversity*, and which was still more effectually crushed by severe domestic affliction.

Of the second marriage, as we have already seen, one son only, Edward, had escaped the small-pox, and him he had buried at Lisburn. Of his two first, according to lady Wray, two sons survived. The eldest of these, whom she calls "her uncle Edward," though, as I conceive, mistakenly, was a captain of horse in the king's service, and fell in a duel with a brother-officer of the name of Vane, who also died of his wounds. The second, Charles, was intended for the church, and remained, till of standing for his

* Note (KK.)

degree of Master of Arts, at Trinity College, Dublin. His views of life, however, and, as it should seem, his conduct, did not correspond with his father's hopes and example: and he became the favourite companion, and at length the secretary, of Villiers, duke of Buckingham. He died of a decline, at the house of his patron at Baynard's Castle, and was buried in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, August 2, 1667*. The bishop himself, who had, as may be well believed, and as his grand-daughter assures us, nearly sunk under the loss of his eldest son, and its unfortunate circumstances, can hardly have heard of this second blow before his own release. He was attacked by a fever, on the 3d of August in the same year, at Lisburn, where he appears, during the latter part of his life, to have often occasionally resided; and died, after a ten days' sickness, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy.

His remains were removed to Dromore, to the church of which place he had been a liberal benefactor. Dr. Rust, his friend, and his successor in that see, preached a funeral sermon, which, in itself, is no bad copy of Taylor's peculiar style of eloquence, and is well calculated to shew the veneration in which he was held, the sweetness of his temper, and the variety of his accomplishments.

No monument, however, was erected to his memory ; and about a century afterwards, his bones, and those of his friend Rust, were disturbed from their vault to make room for the coffin of another bishop*. The late venerable bishop Percy had them carefully collected and replaced. That their repose was ever violated, or that they were suffered to lie neglected so long, is not to be recorded without indignation.

At the time of his death he had already sent to the press the " Second Part " of his " Dissuasive from Popery," being, in a great measure, an answer to " Sure Footing in Christianity," a work by John Serjeant, a Romish priest, who, in one of his appendices, had attacked some of Taylor's former positions. He had also written a " Discourse on Christian Consolation," which was published in 1671, and was followed, in 1684, by " Contemplations on the State of Man," a work which is marked as his on unquestionable authority, though it has the appearance of an unfinished production, and is by no means equal to the general style of his compositions.

His widow survived him many years, but the place and time of her death is unknown. He left three daughters, of whom the eldest, Phoebe, died unmarried. The second, Mary, was the wife of Doctor Francis Marsh, successively dean of Connor and Armagh, bishop of Limerick and Kilmore, and arch-

bishop of Dublin; whose descendants, of the same name, are numerous and wealthy. She is mentioned by Evelyn, who once met her, with her husband, at a meeting of the Royal Society, as a woman of abilities and attainments above the usual standard. The third, Joanna*, was married to Edward Harrison, of Maralave, esquire, member, during many successive parliaments, for the borough of Lisburn, whose daughter, already mentioned, married Sir Cecil Wray, and from whom was lineally descended William Todd Jones, of Homra, esquire, to whose MS. remains the present work is so materially indebted. A further account of these different branches will be found in the Notes †.

The comeliness of Taylor's person has been often noticed, and he himself appears to have been not insensible of it. Few authors have so frequently introduced their own portraits, in different characters and attitudes, as ornaments to their printed works. So far as we may judge from these, he appears to have been above the middle size, strongly and handsomely proportioned, with his hair long and gracefully curling on his cheeks, large dark eyes, full of sweetness, an aquiline nose, and an open and intelligent countenance. He was thus represented in an original picture, once in the possession of the Marsh family, but unfortunately lost by his great grandson

Jeremy Marsh, together with other property, in a dangerous ford which it was necessary to pass in removing to a fresh place of residence*. It is from a copy of this painting, still in the possession of Mrs. Digby, that the engraving is taken which is prefixed to Mr. Bonney's volume. I suspect, however, that, in this copy, a liberty has been taken in altering the dress of the original; inasmuch as the face is younger than is consistent with the age at which he became qualified to wear the episcopal robes. And it is remarkable that, in no instance, do any of the engravings made during his lifetime represent him in the chimara and rochet. Another portrait, whose claims to originality are, I believe, undoubted, was presented by Mrs. Wray, of Anne's Vale, near Rosstrevor, to All Souls' College, displaying the same features and style of countenance, but at a more advanced period of life, and marked with a cast of melancholy which it is not difficult to account for from the domestic afflictions of his latter years. This is the likeness which is given with the present work, and I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the admirable pencil of my friend, the Honourable Heneage Legge, who made a drawing of it for the use of the engraver. Of Joanna Taylor, also, there is a portrait in the possession of Mrs. Wray, representing a fine

* Bonney, M^s. note.

woman with a pleasing oval countenance, and naked hands and arms of much beauty, — standing in an arbour, and suspending a branch of laurel over a bust of Charles the First, which is placed beside her. These, with the watch which Taylor received from his unfortunate sovereign, and which is still preserved by the Marsh family, are, so far as I have discovered, the only relics remaining of this great and good man, and the person most closely united to him by alliance and affection*.

Of Taylor's domestic habits and private character much is not known, but all which is known is amiable. "Love," as well as "admiration," is said to have "waited on him," in Oxford. In Wales, and amid the mutual irritation and violence of civil and religious hostility, we find him conciliating, when a prisoner, the favour of his keepers, at the same time that he preserved, undiminished, the confidence and esteem of his own party. Laud, in the height of his power and full-blown dignity; Charles, in his deepest reverses; Hatton, Vaughan, and Conway, amid the tumults of civil war; and Evelyn, in the tranquillity of his elegant retirement; seem alike to have cherished his friendship, and coveted his society. The same genius which extorted the commendation of Jeanes, for the variety of its research and vigour of its argument, was also an object of interest and

affection with the young, and rich, and beautiful Katharine Philips; and few writers, who have expressed their opinions so strongly, and, sometimes, so unguardedly as he has done, have lived and died with so much praise and so little censure. Much of this felicity may be probably referred to an engaging appearance and a pleasing manner; but its cause must be sought, in a still greater degree, in the evident kindness of heart, which, if the uniform tenour of a man's writings is any index to his character, must have distinguished him from most men living: in a temper, to all appearance warm, but easily conciliated; and in that which, as it is one of the least common, is of all dispositions the most attractive, not merely a neglect, but a total forgetfulness of all selfish feeling. It is this, indeed, which seems to have constituted the most striking feature of his character. Other men have been, to judge from their writings and their lives, to all appearance, as religious, as regular in their devotions, as diligent in the performance of all which the laws of God or man require from us; but with Taylor his duty seems to have been a delight, his piety a passion. His faith was the more vivid in proportion as his fancy was more intensely vigorous; with him the objects of his hope and reverence were scarcely unseen or future; his imagination daily conducted him to "diet with gods," and elevated him to the same height above the world, and the same nearness to ~~in~~affable things,

which Milton ascribes to his allegorical "cherub Contemplation."

With a mind less accurately disciplined in the trammels and harness of the schools—less deeply imbued with ancient learning—less uniformly accustomed to compare his notions with the dictates of elder saints and sages, and submit his novelties to the authority and censure of his superiors—such ardour of fancy might have led him into dangerous errors; or have estranged him too far from the active duties, the practical wisdom of life, and its dull and painful realities: and, on the other hand, his logic and learning—his veneration for antiquity and precedent—and his monastic notions of obedience in matters of faith as well as doctrine—might have fettered the energies of a less ardent mind, and weighed him down into an intolerant opposer of all unaccustomed truths, and, in his own practice, a superstitious formalist. Happily, however, for himself and the world, Taylor was neither an enthusiast nor a bigot: and, if there are some few of his doctrines from which our assent is withheld by the decisions of the church and the language of Scripture,—even these (while in themselves they are almost altogether speculative, and such as could exercise no injurious influence on the essentials of faith or the obligations to holiness,) may be said to have a leaning to the side of piety, and to have their foundation in a love for the Deity, and a

desire to vindicate his goodness, no less than to excite mankind to aspire after greater degrees of perfection.

His munificent charity was in part shown by his undertaking, at his own expense, the rebuilding of his cathedral. It is also warmly praised by Rust, who tells us that, when the great preferments which he enjoyed were compared with the small portions which he left to his daughters, charity would be proved to have been the principal steward of his revenues. Yet, his daughters married wealthy husbands, and his widow seems to have been well provided for. During the latter part of his life he was engaged in a law-suit, together with his friend lord Conway, against colonel Moses Hill, one of Cromwell's officers, which might have eventually greatly lessened his means; but it seems, from the journals of the Irish House of Lords, to have been abandoned by his opponent. His ecclesiastical revenues, therefore, were certainly great; and the estate of Mandinam, which his wife retained for her life, was, of itself, sufficient to keep her above poverty*.

In conformity with the same simple and disinterested character which I have ascribed to him, we find him at one time contributing his endeavours to frame a grammar for children, at another. composing prayers and hymns for the young and unin-

structed. "If," were his words on one occasion, "you do not choose to fill your boy's head with something, believe me the devil will *!" The same temper seems to have made him affable and facetious with his inferiors in rank and knowledge. "It was pleasant," says his secretary Alcock, "to hear my lord talk with these poor people, the friends of Haddock, on the subject of their relation's spectre†." On the whole, we have abundant reason for regret, that so little can now be recovered of the private life and daily conversation of one who was so accomplished and so much beloved, that we cannot believe him to have been otherwise than most amiable. The "family book," and the papers and letters preserved by his descendants, might have told us much. But these have, to all appearances, perished; and the admirers of Jeremy Taylor must be content to form their opinion of him almost exclusively from a knowledge of his writings.

Of those writings some further account is yet to be given; in which it may be convenient to consider them in the same order which has been adopted in the present edition, and as arranging themselves naturally, according to the subjects on which they treat, into the different descriptions of Practical, Theological, Casuistic, and Devotional. To the

* Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 45. † Glanville, p. 280.

First of these classes may be referred, "The Life of Christ;" the "Contemplations on the State of Man;" the "Holy Living and Holy Dying;" the "Sermons," and the posthumous work on "Christian Consolation," which will be found in this volume. The second will comprise the series beginning with his "Episcopacy asserted," and ending with his "Dissuasive from Popery." Under the third head may be classed the "Discourse on Friendship," and "Ductor Dubitantium;" while the last contains all which instrumentally or directly refer to devotional exercises; his "Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial;" his "Rules and Advices for the Clergy;" his "Golden Grove," and the other tracts which will be found in the last volume. It is true that, in the best and highest sense of the term, all Taylor's works are theological; most of them are distinguished by an acute and discriminating application of general principles to particular cases and persons; and there is none where he does not occasionally escape from the thorns and thistles of controversial questions, to those practical lessons of holiness, and those aspirations of heaven-directed feeling, which are the pervading and peculiar characteristics of his genius. Still, however, there are some of his works less practical and less devotional than others; and, of those which professedly belong to these classes, there are some where the attention is chiefly drawn

to the duties of the closet or the temple, and others where he expatiates through a wider range of holiness, and discusses with the same fervour, but with more diffuseness, the obligations, the duties, the charities, and the faith of Christians.

Such is the Life of Christ, or "Great Exemplar," — a work undertaken, as he himself tells us in his Dedication to lord Hatton, with an intention of withdrawing the thoughts of men from controverted and less important doctrines, to the great and necessary rallying points of Christianity, and those duties and charities on which all men are agreed, but which all men forget so easily.

"In pursuance," he says, "of this consideration, I have chosen to serve the purposes of religion, by doing assistance to that part of theology which is wholly practical; that which makes us wiser, therefore, because it makes us better. And truly, my lord, it is enough to weary the spirit of a disputer, that he shall argue till he hath lost his voice, and his time, and sometimes the question too; and yet no man shall be of his mind more than was before. How few turn Lutherans, or Calvinists, or Roman Catholics, from the religion either of their country or interest! Possibly two or three weak or interested, fantastic and easy, prejudicate and effeminate understandings, pass from church to church, upon grounds as weak as those from which formerly they did dissent; and the same arguments are good

or bad, as exterior accidents or interior appetites shall determine. I deny not but, for great causes, some opinions are to be quitted: but when I consider how few do forsake any, and, when any do, oftentimes they choose the wrong side, and they that take the righter do it so by contingency, and the advantage also is so little, I believe that the triumphant persons have but small reason to please themselves in gaining proselytes, since their purchase is so small, and as inconsiderable to their triumph as it is unprofitable to them, who change for the worse or the better, upon unworthy motives. In all this there is nothing certain, nothing noble. But he that follows the work of God, that is, labours to gain souls, not to a sect and a subdivision, but to the Christian religion, that is, to the faith and obedience of the Lord Jesus, hath a promise to be assisted and rewarded, — and all those that go to heaven are the purchase of such undertakings, the fruit of such culture and labours; for it is only a holy life that lands us there.

“ And now, my lord, I have told you my reasons, I shall not be ashamed to say, that I am weary and toiled with rowing up and down in the seas of questions, which the interests of Christendom have commenced, and, in many propositions of which I am heartily persuaded, I am not certain that I am not deceived; and I find that men are most confident of those articles which, they can so little prove that

they never made questions of them. But I am most certain that, by living in the religion and fear of God, in obedience to the king, in the charities and duties of communion with my spiritual guides, in justice and love with all the world in their several proportions, I shall not fail of that end which is perfection of human nature, and which will never be obtained by disputing*."

The work thus introduced and inscribed, is, as it professes to be, of a nature entirely practical. It discusses no doctrines but those on which almost all Christians are agreed, and which necessarily are suggested by the principal events of our Saviour's history. It enters into no critical examination of facts or dates, of evidences or various readings. The author does not exercise his learning and discrimination, in explaining those peculiarities of ancient or local history and manners which, as they are little less than absolutely necessary to a competent understanding of writers like those of the New Testament, so no author of the present day would omit them in a history of our Saviour. He does not even distinguish between those facts which are recorded by the inspired historians themselves, and those which repose on uncertain tradition, or on the mere presumptions of the ancient fathers; but relates, with almost the same apparent faith, the salutation of the angel to

the Virgin Mary; the Syriac prayer attributed to Christ at his baptism by St. Philoxenes; and the prostration of the Egyptian idols, when the infant Jesus came into their country.

Nor does he attempt, in any instance, to reconcile the different narrations of the evangelists with each other, or to produce a regular and chronological harmony of the Gospel. His work is nothing else than a series of devout meditations on the different events recorded in the New Testament, as well as on the more remarkable traditions which have been usually circulated respecting the Divine Author of our religion, his earthly parent, and his followers. This is a plan far less extensive, less curious, and perhaps less rational, than would now be contemplated by any eminent divine who should purpose to write a *Life of Christ*. But even a defective plan, in the hands of a mighty genius, may be clothed with beauties which mere learning and critical acumen could never bestow, and is susceptible of ornaments more rich and various than a more regular structure could receive with propriety. It is even probable that, as a book of devotional instruction for every class and age, the *Great Exemplar* may have gained an impressive and edifying interest, by the exclusion of every thing critical or antiquarian, and by the manner in which it calls our unmingled attention to the narrative of the Gospel, heightened only by those picturesque and poetical accompaniments which, like the minute orna-

ments of an ancient cathedral, though, separately taken, some of them might seem out of place, yet communicate to the general building the effect of beauty the most luxuriant, the most impressive, the most solemn and sacred.

Be this as it may, it must be confessed that this first popular work of Taylor's contains many splendid moral and devotional passages; that the sermons which are introduced into it (for the disquisitions which occur all answer to this description, and might be delivered from the pulpit with so much effect, that it is hard to believe that this was not their first destination,) are conceived in the same spirit of devout and majestic eloquence which pervades his *Evangelos*; and that, in the few instances where controversial discussion was unavoidable, no writer of the age has argued with more acuteness, with more extensive learning, or so warm and earnest a charity.

Nor are these the only merits of the work which I am discussing. I am acquainted with no work of Taylor's (I might say with no work of any author) in which more of practical wisdom may be found, a greater knowledge of the human heart, and a more dexterous and touching application, not only of the solemn truths of Christianity, but of even the least important circumstances related in the life of our Saviour, to the developement of sound principles of action, and to the correction and guidance of our daily conduct. Thus, in his preface, not only the

exact conformity of Christianity with right reason and natural instinct,—its fitness for the present wants, as well as the future prospects of man,—and the manner in which it confirms, extends, and illustrates the law of nature,—are laid down with admirable good sense and knowledge of his subject; but many curious and interesting principles of metaphysical and political wisdom will be found incidentally, and, as if *ex abundanti*, scattered through it, which shew the grasp and vigour of the author's mind, and that, though his choice confined him to those topics which are the immediate subjects of his profession, there were few, indeed, in the treatment of which he might not have excelled. At the same time, there is none of these incidental topics which is not made conducive to the enforcement of practical piety and personal holiness. No part of his work can be read without some fruit of this kind; but, in the application of general principles to particular but important instances of thought and action, the "Exhortation to the Imitation of the Life of Christ,"—the sermon on the "Duty of Nursing Children,"—that on "Obedience,"—on "Mortification,"—on "Baptising Infants,"—on "The Religion of Holy Places,"—on "Scandal,"—and on "The Divine Judgments," are perhaps the most remarkable.

In some instances, but in a very few, he is not to be followed without caution. He had already im-

bled those opinions, the fuller exposition of which afterwards gave so much concern to some of the most distinguished members of the English church, on the subjects of original sin, and the consequences of Adam's transgression. Something of this sort may be traced in his apparently imperfect view of the causes of human corruption, when he tells us that "the law of nature, being decreed and made obligatory, was a sufficient instrument of making man happy, that is, in producing the end of his creation. But, as Adam had evil discourses and irregular appetites, before he fell, (for they made him fall,)—and as the angels, who had no original sin, yet they chose evil at the first, when it was wholly arbitrary in them to do so or otherwise; so did man. 'God made man upright, but he sought out many inventions.' Some men," he continues, "were ambitious, and, by incompetent means, would make their brethren to be their servants; some were covetous; and would usurp that which, by an earlier distinction, had passed into private possession: and then they made new principles, and new discourses, such which were reasonable to their private indirect ends, but not to the public benefit, and, therefore, would prove unreasonable and mischievous to themselves at last*."

That Adam must have had a capability of sinning before he actually sinned, is demonstrably, if not

evidently true: and it must, in the same way, be conceded, — if this capability of offending were all which were meant by original sin, — that the angels also who sinned, must, in their degree, have had it as well as Adam. But it is neither consonant with reason nor with Scripture to assert, that all the evil which we find in the world, and in ourselves, either was in Adam before the fall, or has been since accumulated by the free, though unhappy choice of his different descendants, gradually as they may have made the world worse, and added the contagion of example and precedent to the inherited and universal propensity to wickedness.

The existence of such a propensity in man, and the necessity of grace to give us the victory over it, Taylor has, in very many passages of his works, and in many of this work itself of which we are speaking, acknowledged with much clearness and humility. And it is strange that he did not perceive, that as Adam, at his creation, was certainly in a state of grace, — and as his descendants, at their respective births, are, as confessedly, in a state of corruption, — some change must have taken place in the nature, as well as the situation, of mankind; and that, though neither Adam nor the angels were, in the first instance, impeccable, it may well be, that, in consequence of his fall, we are by nature more inclined to sin than either he or they were.

The question will be discussed more at length in

another place. I will here only observe, that in one who, like Taylor, confessed his own corruption, whencesoever derived, and placed his whole hope of pardon in Christ's blood, and of sanctification in Christ's Spirit, the error was divested of its malignity so far as it respected himself, though an error it certainly was, and, in certain ways of applying the principle, a dangerous one. It is curious to see how extremes meet. Taylor seems to have been, in a great measure, led into his mistake by a horror of Calvinism, and an anxiety to avoid ascribing to God the apparent injustice of cursing all the world for the sins of one man. Yet he falls into the highest supralapsarian Calvinism, by merely throwing a little farther back the origin of man's misery, and representing him as coming immediately from the hand of his Maker with the same load of invincible corruption (invincible, unless by superadded grace,) which his descendants, in their present state, carry about with them.

Surely there is little difference whether we say, with the ultra Calvinists, that God created man in order that he might fall, — or, that he so created him that he could not help falling. But, if Adam were framed not only with a capacity of sinning, but also of remaining without sin, he was then, certainly, in a state which his descendants do not experience; and there is no event in the history of the world to which the loss of this state can be assigned, except the fall of Adam and its consequences.

Nor is the justice of God impugned by the supposition that privileges which Adam had abused or neglected were not continued to his descendants, or that the race of men were, thenceforward, put under a new regimen of weakness and of repentance ; — the weakness receiving sufficient but inferior spiritual aids, the repentance rewarded with a blessing beyond the utmost which Adam could have hoped for. This is the light in which the question has been viewed by the English church ; and this, it might be thought, was one which, while it sufficiently establishes the dependence of man on his Maker, sufficiently vindicates the Creator from being the cause of evil, and from desiring that any of his children should perish.

Another instance in which Taylor has passed from a common and dangerous extreme to an opposite equally erroneous, is the case of death-bed repentance, which here, as in a succeeding work, he clogs with so many dangers and limitations, as to render it but very little less than impossible. It has been, indeed, at all times, a vulgar and perilous self-flattery, to apprehend not only that repentance would, after a life of sin, be, at any time when we willed it, within our power ; but that a few expiring lamentations, extorted by the fear of approaching torment, were to expiate for many years of obstinate transgression, and supply, in the heart of him who is passing to his account, that love, that purity, and those other Christian graces, without which even heaven itself would

be a place of misery. It is even probable that the author may have been disgusted in those days, as he would have been in these of almost equal enthusiasm, with the spectacle of criminals advancing triumphantly to their scaffold, and looking forward to a death, which they had brought on themselves by their crimes, with the same exultation as a martyr might embrace his stake; the same expressed and boasted assurance of bliss, as if the fiery chariot of the prophet were visibly waiting to receive them. Of the harm which may be done to the dying by such indiscriminate comfort — of the harm which the living will, in all probability, receive from such exaggerated statements — I am fully and mournfully sensible. But to calculate, as Taylor does, the time which is required for the acquisition of graces, which God may, if he pleases, at once communicate; — to require the expression of outward and long-continued actions, as in all instances equally necessary to confirm the inward feeling in His eyes by whom that feeling itself may be inspired; — is to make the narrow gate of salvation narrower than God has made it, and, in our anxiety for the holiness of men in health, to seal up in despair the sick soul that might otherwise have burst its bondage. There may, it should be recollected, even on a death-bed, and in a very short space of time, be the opportunity of rendering God acceptable service, and bringing forth, though amid darkness and terror, the fruits of repentance. We may

have time for prayer ; we may have time for confession ; for forgiveness of our enemies ; for patience ; for resignation : perhaps for restitution. We may have *time* for some of these, for the rest we may have a *desire* ; — and for *all* of these, we know, in one illustrious instance, the penitent thief had not time or opportunity. The danger which there always must be, that in sickness we should neither have opportunity nor spiritual power to turn to God — the chance that our heads may be light, or our hearts hardened, when the day of sorrow comes on us — are terrors sufficiently great to lead every man who is not insensible of danger, to employ, to the best of his power, the day of salvation while it shines ; as well knowing that, whether *others* are called effectually in the eleventh hour or not, the time at which *he* is last called must be the eleventh hour to *him*. Still, however, the manner in which Taylor has painted the dangers of a sinner's death-bed, displays no ordinary pencil ; and the colours (dismal as they are, and, in some instances, overcharged,) are marked, on the whole, with so much truth, that I could wish some of his frightful legends published in a popular form as an antidote to those edifying deaths which are now in almost daily circulation*.

These are the only particulars of importance which

* “ On Repentance,” vol. ii. pp. 426, 438. “ On Death,” vol. iii. pp. 349, 351, 356, &c.

occur to me, in which this great and good man has, in the work now before us, departed from the usual sense of the church and the general analogy of Scripture. There are other, but, in comparison, very trifling points, on which he has pronounced with too much haste or positiveness. In his Discourse on Repentance*, he takes it for granted that the angels who sinned had never any room for repentance, — that “their first act of volition was their whole capacity of a blissful or a miserable eternity: they made their own sentence when they made their first election.” This he had learned from the schoolmen, who, apprehending that the production of the angels must have taken place on the same day with the creation of the heavenly bodies, were perplexed how else to find sufficient time for the apostacy of Satan, between the commencement of his being and his successful temptation of the woman†; and thought the opinion, “*probabiliorem et sanctiorem, quod statim post primum instans suæ creationis, diabolus peccaverit.*” But Taylor has, in this instance, expressed himself with more positiveness than Aquinas; and we surely know too little of the angelic nature and history, to assume any facts concerning either which are not clearly revealed in Scripture. That there are angels, and that some of them have not

* Vol. ii. p. 392.

† Thom. Aquinat. Summa. 1ma Pars. Quæst. lxi. art. 6. p. 118.

kept their first estate, we know, for it has been made known to us. But wherein their fault consisted, or how long they had previously remained in glory and innocency, as God has not told us, it is useless to guess; and worse than useless to ground an argument on our conjectures.

In another opinion, which he elsewhere, in different passages of his works, repeats, he has fallen into the same mistake with Warburton. He tells us, that Balaam, when he prayed to die the death of the righteous, had only respect to length of days and tranquillity of mind, the promise of a life after death being hidden from the age in which he lived*. Without entering into such a discussion, it is enough to say, that Michaelis has shewn that the writings of Moses contain abundant proofs that the immortality of the soul was familiarly known to his contemporaries †.

There is some grave trifling in vol. ii. p. 72, about the letters of Jehovah's name, which he had from the Cabbalists. If he designed it as a poetical ornament, it savours of the taste of the time: if as an argument or illustration, it rests on too weak authority to be good for any thing. In all his works, he is fond of alluding to historical incidents, often with an admirable oratorical effect, though the stories

* Vol. iii. 151.

† Michaelis, *Argumenta Immortalitatis Animarum ex Mose collecta*.

alleged may be no more than idle legends. Here, however, he has twice quoted, as from Scripture, though without naming the place, a story of 23,000 Assyrians destroyed in one night for fornication, which, I confess, I never met with in Scripture or elsewhere*. But these are trifling blemishes in a work of so great length, of so distinguished beauty, usefulness, and learning, in which he has nobly fulfilled the purpose expressed in his preface, "To advance the necessity, and to declare the manner and parts of a good life. I have followed (he continues) the design of Scripture, and have given milk for babes, and for stronger men stronger meat; and in all I have despised my own reputation, by so striving to make it useful, that I was less careful to make it strict in retired senses, and embossed with unnecessary but graceful ornaments. I pray God, this may go forth into a blessing to all that shall use it, and reflect blessings upon me all the way, that my spark may grow greater by kindling my brother's taper, and God may be glorified in us both. If the reader shall receive no benefit, yet I intended him one, and I have laboured in order to it; and I shall receive a great recompense for that intention, if he shall please to say this prayer for me, — 'That while I have preached to others, I may not become a castaway†!'"

* Vol. ii. p. 34. — vol. iii. p. 233. † Vol. ii. p. lvm.

In the "Literary Life of the Reverend John Serjeant, written by himself," inserted in the Roman Catholic Miscellany entitled the "Catholicon," vol. iii. the "Great Exemplar" is said to be a mere translation of the life of Christ by Ludolphus de Saxonia*. The assertion, however, is entirely groundless; so much so, that, except in the circumstance that both authors intermix prayers and moral reflections with their narrative, it is scarcely possible to find two books written on any one subject, which have so few coincidences of arrangement, sentiment, or expression. The merits of the works of Ludolphus, which, as a pious, useful, and practical treatise, I am very far from undervaluing, are of a nature entirely different from those of the Great Exemplar. Ludolphus, (as was necessary in an author who wrote for those by whom the Scriptures themselves were little known or studied,) gives a long and minute detail of almost every word and action of our Lord; — appending to each a string of moral and religious observations, extracted, chiefly verbatim, from the Fathers. Taylor passes rapidly over the greater part of this detail; but expands, from time to time, into long and eloquent discourses on the more remarkable actions and doctrines of our Lord, to

* "Vita Jesus Christi Redemptoris Nostri, ex Medellis Evangelicis, et approbata ab Ecclesia Doctoribus, sedule per Ludolphum de Saxonia, Ordinis Carthusiensis collecta," — 1509.

which his rival offers nothing correspondent. The style of the one is usually plain and simple, though his prayers are, many of them, conceived in a pleasing and fervent strain of piety. That of the other luxuriates in a richness of imagery and a grandiloquence of expression, which breathe, in every sentence, the vital and essential spirit of poetry. The reading of Taylor was so excursive that it is, indeed, most probable that he was not unacquainted with the work of Ludolphus, and it is possible that, from it the outline and first conception of his own book may have been taken. But more than this a comparison of the two Lives forbids us to allow, and for even this, so far as I am aware, there is no internal evidence whatever in the work of Taylor.

I have already suggested the probability which there is that the extensive popularity of the "Great Exemplar" produced the "Holy Living," and the "Holy Dying;" works which were, in like manner, devoted to the promotion of practical holiness, and which, with the exception of some Sermons, were the next in succession of his published labours.

Both are dedicated to the earl of Carbery, the first in a splendid description of the miseries of the time, and the duty of a good man under those miseries. This dedication concludes with five rules for the application of the counsels which follow, so simple so just, and displaying so accurate a know-

ledge of the dispositions and dangers of mankind, that they cannot be too firmly imprinted in the memory of a Christian.

“ 1. They that will, with profit, make use of the proper instruments of virtue, must so live as if they were always under the physician's hand. For the counsels of religion are not to be applied to the distempers of the soul, as men used to take hellebore; but they must dwell together with the spirit of a man, and be twisted about his understanding for ever: they must be used like nourishment, that is, by a daily care and meditation — not like a single medicine, and upon the actual pressure of a present necessity. For counsels and wise discourses, applied to an actual distemper, at the best are but like strong smells to an epileptic person; sometimes they may raise him up, but they never cure him. The following rules, if they be made familiar to our natures and the thoughts of every day, may make virtue and religion become easy and habitual; but, when the temptation is present, and hath already seized upon some portion of our consent, we are not so apt to be counselled; and we find no gust or relish in the precept; the lessons are the same, but the instrument is unstrung or out of tune.

“ 2. In using the instruments of virtue, we must be curious to distinguish instruments from duties, and prudent advices from necessary injunctions; and if by any other means the duty can be secured,

let there be no scruples stirred concerning any other helps : only, if they can, in that case, strengthen and secure the duty or help towards perseverance, let them serve in that station in which they can be placed. For there are some persons, in whom the Spirit of God hath breathed so bright a flame of love, that they do all their acts of virtue by perfect choice and without objection ; and their zeal is warmer than that it will be allayed by temptation : and to such persons mortification by philosophical instruments, as fasting, sackcloth, and other rudenesses to the body, is wholly useless : it is always a more uncertain means to acquire any virtue or secure any duty ; and if love hath filled all the corners of our soul, he alone is able to all the work of God.

“ 3. Be not nice in stating the obligations of religion ; but, where the duty is necessary and the means very reasonable in itself, dispute not too busily whether, in all circumstances, it can fit thy particular ; but, ‘ *super totam materiam,*’ upon the whole, make use of it. For it is a good sign of a great religion, and no imprudence, when we have sufficiently considered the substance of affairs, then to be easy, humble, obedient, apt and credulous in the circumstances, which are appointed to us, in particular, by our spiritual guides, or, in general, by all wise men in cases not unlike. He that gives alms, does best not always to consider the minutes

and strict measures of his ability, but to give freely, incuriously, and abundantly. A man must not weigh grains in the accounts of his repentance; but for a great sin have a great sorrow and a great severity, and in this take the ordinary advices, though, it may be, a less rigour might not be insufficient. *Αριθμοποιον*, or arithmetical measures, especially of our own proportioning, are but arguments of want of love and of frowardness in religion: or else are instruments of scruple, and then become dangerous. Use the rule heartily and enough, and there will be no harm in the error, if any should happen.

“ 4. If thou intendest heartily to serve God, and avoid sin in any one instance, refuse not the hardest and most severe advice that is prescribed in order to it, though possibly it be a stranger to thee; for, whatsoever it be, custom will make it easy.

“ 5. When many instruments for the obtaining any virtue or restraining any vice are propounded, observe which of them best fits thy person or the circumstances of thy need, and use it rather than the other; that by this means thou mayest be engaged to watch, and use spiritual arts and observation about thy soul. Concerning the managing of which, as the interest is greater, so the necessities are more, and the cases more intricate, and the accidents and dangers greater and more importunate; and there is greater skill required than in the securing an estate, or restoring health to an infirm body. I wish all

men in the world did heartily believe so much of this as is true : it would very much help to do the work of God*.”

The Holy Living is divided into four chapters : in the first of which he discusses the instrumental means of holiness, such as — care of our time, purity of intention, and a sense of the Divine presence ; and gives rules for producing and preserving all these habits in our hearts and behaviour, of which those for the improvement of time are perhaps the most useful and practical.

The second chapter treats of Christian sobriety ; which he divides into the five heads of Temperance, Chastity, Humility, Modesty, and Contentment, — and defines in general to be “ an using severity, denial and frustration of our appetite, when it grows unreasonable in any of these instances†.” He introduces the discussion of these different topics with some observations on voluptuousness according to this general definition, and with rules for subduing our natural tendency towards it, which will well reward the reader, and which, for the general reader, are perhaps better adapted than the remedies which follow for specific and grosser vices. In all cases, his rules for avoiding sin, when not too scrupulous and ascetic for practice, and therefore less likely to do good than if they were less efficacious but more attainable means of holiness, are better than the ar-

* Vol. iii. pp. 7, 8, 9. † Page 56.

guments which he uses against each sin in order. But of all his rules, the "Acts and Offices of Humility" are, perhaps, the most impressive,—the most effectual,—the most sensible and rational,—the most applicable to the temptations and necessities of every man.

The third chapter is devoted to the discussion of Christian justice, defined as either commutative or distributive, and divided into the several heads of, 1. "Obedience," as due from inferiors to superiors;—2. "Provision," or Protecting Care, from Sovereigns, Judges, Parents, Masters, Guardians;—3. Negotiation or Contracts;—4. Restitution, which he defines as "that part of justice to which a man is obliged by a precedent contract or a foregoing fault, by his own act or another man's, either with or without his will.*" His rules in this part of his work are admirable. They are casuistry in its highest and noblest sense; in which nothing is overstrained, nothing extenuated, and (so far as general principles and the compass of a short chapter can reach) nothing unprovided for; inasmuch as, even where neither the obligations of default nor contract can extend, he has specified the no less strong and yet holier obligation of gratitude.

The fourth chapter treats of the Duties of Religion, under the heads of its *internal* and *external* actions. The former are Faith, Hope, and Love; to

his account of which is added an admirable digression on Zeal.

“ The sum is this : that zeal is not a direct duty, no where commanded for itself, and is nothing but a forwardness in the circumstances of another duty, and therefore is then only acceptable, when it advances the love of God and our neighbours. That zeal is only safe, only acceptable, which increases charity directly : and because love to our neighbour and obedience to God are the two great portions of charity, we must never account our zeal to be good but as it advances both these, if it be in a matter that relates to both ; or severally, if it relates severally. St. Paul’s zeal was expressed in preaching without any offerings or stipend, in travelling, in spending and being spent for his flock, in suffering, in being willing to be accursed, for love of the people of God and his countrymen. Let our zeal be as great as his was, so it be in affections to others, but not at all in angers against them. In the first there is no danger, in the second there is no safety. In brief, let your zeal (if it must be expressed in anger) be always more severe against yourself than your neighbours*.”

The external actions of religion Taylor defines to be, “ 1. Reading and hearing the word of God ;—2. Fasting and corporeal austerities ;—3. Feasting, or keeping days of public joy and thanksgiving.” On all

these his observations are distinguished by sound good sense and earnest piety. Even on fasting, — a duty now so much neglected, and to disquisitions on which so few will turn with any other feeling than curiosity, — the reasonableness of his rules will strike many who, from carelessness or the habits of the age, are negligent of, or averse to, a practice sanctioned by the constitution of our nature; the experience of ages; the injunction of all Christian churches; the example of all the good men of former times, of the apostles, and of the Son of God*.

He grounds the sanctity of the Lord's day, not on a divine commandment, as was the case with the Jewish sabbath, (for this commandment he conceives to have had respect to that day and that nation only,) but on the great duty for which the fourth commandment provides, of confessing on all occasions God to be the Maker of heaven and earth, and on the institution of the apostles that the first day in the week should be set apart for doing this in solemn assemblies. The same opinion he afterwards expressed more at large in his *Ductor Dubitantium*†. It seems to have been also the opinion of Laud, of Luther, of Calvin, of Spencer, and of almost all the early fathers, who agree in representing the fourth

* See *Ductor Dubitantium*. On the interpretation and obligation of the Laws of Jesus Christ, vol. xiii. p. 11.

† Of the Christian Law, vol. xii. p. 419.

commandment as of temporary obligation only, and as merely applying to Christians in a spiritual sense; as inculcating a devotion of ourselves to God's service on all proper opportunities, and that rest from worldly cares, of which, to the Jews, the sabbath was typical*. That the authority and example of the apostles, the uniform tradition of the church, the reasonableness of the practice abstractedly considered, the necessities of men, and the precedent of God's corresponding ordinance under the old law, are sufficient reasons for keeping the Lord's day holy, the great men whom I have cited were far indeed from doubting. Whether their view of the subject be more correct than that which makes the fourth commandment, in its literal meaning, a part of the moral and universal law, this is not the place for examining. They who apprehend that the sanctity of Sunday will be endangered by a contrary opinion, may read what Taylor himself says on the subject, — "The Jews," he observes, "had a divine commandment for their day, which we have not for ours; but we have many commandments to do all that honour to God which was intended in the fourth commandment; and the apostles appointed the first

* Laud, *Troubles and Trial*, p. 345. Luther, *Auslegung der X. Gebotten*, Op. Lips. tom. iii. pp. 642-643. Calvin, *Instit. lib. ii. c. viii. sect. 31, et seq.* Op. Amstel. tom. ix. p. 99. Spencer de *Leg. Hebræor. lib. i. c. v. pp. 83, 94.*

day of the week for doing it in solemn assemblies*. Upon the Lord's day, we must abstain from all servile and laborious works, except such which are matters of necessity, of common life, or of great charity; for these are permitted by that authority which hath separated the day for holy uses. The sabbath of the Jews, though consisting principally in rest, and established by God, did yield to these. And therefore, this is to be enlarged in the Gospel, whose sabbath or rest is but a circumstance, and accessory to the principal and spiritual duties. Upon the Christian sabbath necessity is to be served first; then charity; and then religion; for this is to give place to charity in great instances, and the second to the first in all: and in all cases, God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth."

His observations on prayer, and incidentally, on vows; those on alms, together with the remedies which he suggests for the great causes of an unmerciful and uncharitable spirit, envy, anger and covetousness; his canons of repentance, and his directions for receiving the sacrament, — are all equally devout, eloquent, and sensible. But I will not select, where all may be read with advantage, and can hardly be read without admiration. To clothe virtue in its most picturesque and attractive colouring; to enforce with all the terrors of the divine law, its essential

* Holy Living, vol. iv. pp. 214, 215.

obligations ; and to distinguish, in almost every instance most successfully, between what is prudent and what is necessary ; what may fitly be done, and what cannot be safely left undone,—this is the triumph of a Christian moralist ; and this Jeremy Taylor has, in a great degree, achieved in his discourse on Holy Living.

Each chapter is followed by a series of prayers, adapted to those temptations or duties which have been discussed in it. Of these prayers the merit is in a great measure proved by their popularity ; a popularity, perhaps, little less than that which our beautiful Liturgy itself has obtained among Christians. Almost all of them contain passages of genuine poetry and eloquence ; and all are pervaded by a tenderness and pathos of earnest piety, which must have proceeded from the feeling which they express, and which few persons ever read without finding it in some degree contagious.

But I must confess that I like those prayers the best which have the fewest of Taylor's peculiar ornaments ; of those rhetorical arguments which are never so little in their place as when addressing the Most High ;—that accumulation of circumstances, and those sentences, almost endless, which distract attention when it ought to be concentrated, and compel us to take breath in the midst of our most earnest aspirations. My meaning will be plain to those who compare his four collects, “ for subjects

when their land is overrun by barbarous and wicked people," with the few and simple, yet majestic words of the prayer in our church service "in time of war and troubles;" or his "Act of Contrition," preparatory to the sacrament, with the General Confession, which is appointed for that occasion*.

But the want of taste is still greater when, in a solemn address of the penitent to his Redeemer, the sufferings of that Redeemer are enumerated at full length, and with circumstances added which rest on no authentic history or probable tradition. When we entreat Christ to have mercy on us, by "his agony and bloody sweat, by his cross and passion,"—we both quicken our own devotional feelings by the mention of what he has done for us, and we plead with him, in behalf of our requests, considerations which we know to be prevailing. But where do we learn that the garden of Gethsemane was "*set with nothing but briars and thorns*," that our Lord was "*drenched*" by his enemies in the brook Cedron; that he was "*tormented with a tablet, stuck with nails, at the fringes of his garment*," that his cross, "*being set in a hollowness of the earth, did, in the fall, render his wounds wider*?" Surely such legends, borrowed from the "stations" of the Christians in the middle ages, and without any authority of Scripture or antiquity, are altogether unfit to be spoken to Him who is not to be flattered by exaggerated representations of

* Pp. 173, 300.

what he has himself done and suffered ; and whose revealed and authentic sufferings and patience were too great and too glorious to need the improvements of human fancy*. In all his Devotions, indeed, Taylor seems to have taken St. Augustine as his model, rather than our own or the elder liturgies ; and both have erred in transferring to prayer those ornaments which might, some of them, be not improper in a sermon. But who can wonder that it should be no easy task for man to find fit words to commune with the Almighty ? What greater praise could Taylor have himself desired than that, in falling short of the excellencies of our Common Prayer, he has fallen short of that only ?

The "Holy Dying" is introduced by a Dedication, also to lord Carbery, in which the author, in a strain of touching eloquence, recommends his work to his patron as that which, in manuscript, had been seen and approved by the deceased object of his dearest affections. "I am treating your lordship as a Roman gentleman did St. Augustine and his mother ; I shall entertain you in a charnel-house, and carry your meditations awhile into the chambers of death."——
 "My lord, it is your dear lady's anniversary, and she deserved the biggest honour, and the longest memory, and the fairest monument, and the most solemn mourning: and, in order to it, give me leave, my lord, to cover her hearse with these following

sheets. This book was intended, first, to minister to her piety; and she desired all good people should partake of the advantages which are here recorded. She knew how to live rarely well, and she desired to know how to die, and God taught her by an experiment."—"My lord, both your lordship and myself have lately seen and felt such sorrow of death, and such sad departure of dearest friends, that it is more than high time we should think ourselves nearly concerned in the accidents. Death has come so near to you, as to fetch a portion from your very heart: and now you cannot choose but dig your own grave, and place your coffin in your eye, when the angel hath dressed your scene of sorrow and meditation with so particular and so near an object; and, therefore, as it is my duty, I am come to minister to your sorrows, that they may turn into virtues and advantages."

The remainder of the Address is occupied in an exposition of the principles and motives of his undertaking: in which, as might be expected from his known opinions, he enlarges on the vanity or uncertainty of a late and sick-bed repentance; the idle folly of the extreme unction of the Romish church; and the unauthorized, as he esteems it, and unprofitable, though extremely ancient practice, of prayers for the departed spirit. In some of his assertions, more particularly on the first of these topics, he here, as elsewhere, is, perhaps, too strict and un-

compromising. Yet the caution which he founds, in part, on these doctrines, is one which may well tingle in the ears of those that live carelessly,—and it is one of which the truth is shewn by very many considerations of undoubted and awful certainty. “My lord; it is a great art to die well, and to be learned by men in health; by them that can discourse and consider; by those whose understanding and acts of reason are not abated with fear or pains: and, as the greatest part of death is passed by the preceding years of our life, so also, in those years, are the greatest preparations to it; and he that prepares not for death before his last sickness, is like him that begins to study philosophy when he is going to dispute publicly in the faculty.”——“And, therefore,” —“it is intended, by the necessity of affairs, that the precepts of dying well be part of the studies of them that are in health, and the days of discourse and understanding, which, in this case, hath another degree of necessity superadded; because, in other notices, an imperfect study may be supplied by a frequent exercise and renewed experience; here, if we practise imperfectly once, we shall never recover the error*.”

The work itself is divided into seven chapters. The first consists of “General Considerations preparatory to a Holy and Blessed Death,”—as of the vanity and shortness of man’s life, a knowledge

of which should induce us to make timely preparation for quitting it;—of the means and opportunities which God has given us for this work, and which, if duly employed, will take off all objection that our lives are too short for our necessary preparation: and the miseries of man's life in this world, which should induce us to depart from it gladly. The second recommends “a general preparation for a blessed death, by way of exercise;” 1. by always looking for death; 2. by daily providing for it; and by, 3. a “life severe, holy, and under the discipline of the cross, under the conduct of prudence and observation; a life of warfare and sober counsels, labour, and watchfulness.” In applying these precepts to particulars, he recommends, 1. a daily self-examination; 2. a lifelong and constant charity. And, to encourage men to endure the burden and uneasiness of the first of these, he remarks, “that we had better bear the burden of the Lord, than the burden of a base and polluted conscience,”—that “religion cannot be so great a trouble as a guilty soul; and whatsoever trouble may or can be fancied in this or any other action of religion, it is only to inexperienced persons.” But, he proceeds,—“to examine our lives will be no trouble, if we do not intricate it with business of the world, and the labyrinths of care and impertinent affairs.”—“He that covets many things greedily, and snatches at high things ambitiously, that despises his neighbour proudly, and bears

his crosses peevishly, or his prosperity impotently and passionately; he that is prodigal of his precious time, and is tenacious and retentive of evil purposes, is not a man disposed to this exercise; he hath reason to be afraid of his own memory, and to dash his glass in pieces, because it must needs represent to his eyes an intolerable deformity."—"In the interim they are impatient of being examined, as a leper is of a comb; and are greedy of the world, as children of raw fruit; and they hate a severe reproof as they do thorns in their bed; and they love to lay aside religion, as a drunken person does to forget his sorrow; and all the way they dream of fine things, and their dreams prove contrary, and become the hieroglyphics of an eternal sorrow."—"To be cozened in making judgments concerning our final condition, is extremely easy; but, if we be cozened, we are infinitely miserable *."

His observations on charity, "with its twin daughters, alms and forgiveness," are abundantly beautiful and sensible; and he winds up the second chapter with a description, in the highest strain of poetry, (somewhat too poetical, perhaps, for a religious and practical treatise,) of the different deaths of the good and wicked man; in which the natural terrors of the one and the natural hopes of the other, are heightened and prolonged, beyond the veil of mortality, into the regions where, (as some of those legends

have told, with which the studies of Taylor were familiar,) the soul becomes the object of contest between angels and devils. The picture is magnificent; but he himself seems sensible that such speculations may be pursued too far, when he winds it up with the following caution. "Fearful, and formidable to unholy persons, is the first meeting with spirits in their separation. But the victory which holy souls receive by the mercies of Jesus Christ and the conduct of angels, is a joy that we must not understand till we feel it: and yet such which by an early and persevering piety we may secure: but let us inquire after it no further, because it is secret*!"

In the next chapter he prescribes remedies against impatience in sickness, and against an immoderate fear of death, and adds some general rules to make sickness safe and holy, more particularly by continuance in prayer, and by an infinite solicitude that we "at no hand commit a deliberate sin, or retain any affection to the old."—"They were sad departures when Tigellinus, Cornelius Gallus, the prætor; Lewis, the son of Gonzaga, duke of Mantua; Ladislaus, king of Naples: Speusippus; Giachetius of Geneva, and one of the popes, died in the forbidden embraces of abused women; or if Job had cursed God and so died: or when a man sits down

in despair, and in the accusation and calumny of the divine mercy; they make their night sad, and stormy, and eternal. When Herod began to sink with the shameful torment of his bowels, and felt the grave open under him, he imprisoned the nobles of his kingdom, and commanded his sister that they should be a sacrifice to his departing ghost*. This was an egress fit only for such persons who meant to dwell with devils to eternal ages; and that man is hugely in love with sin, who cannot forbear, in the week of the assizes, and when himself stands at the bar of scrutiny, and prepared for his final, never to be reversed sentence. He dies suddenly to the worse sense and event of sudden death, who so manages his sickness, that even that state shall not be innocent."

The fourth chapter is occupied with rules for the practice of the graces proper to a state of sickness; of patience, of faith, of repentance, of justice, and of charity. The last treats on the urgent necessity and best manner of visiting the sick by the ministers of religion; and he concludes his subject with the duties of those who survive, as to the execution of the will of their departed friends, and the moderation and decency of their funerals.

On the whole it may be said, that the 'Holy Dying,' in point of composition, and in the display of the characteristic beauties of Taylor's style and lan-

* Note (QQ.)

guage, exceeds the 'Holy Living.' The subject admitted of, and, indeed, invited him to a greater indulgence in those touching and tender visions of affection, of natural images, and of supernatural aspirations which were familiar to his mind, and were apt to intrude unbidden. As a practical work, its use may be, perhaps, less obvious and less extensive than its companion; for a sick-bed it is too long, and, when men are in health, they read it, are delighted, and lay it down again. But, as a manual and directory for those whose office it is to converse with the sick and dying, its uses are manifold, and its importance only to be estimated by those who have themselves given some portion of their thoughts and their time to this most interesting, most charitable, and, when rightly managed, this most edifying and instructive duty of Christian morality. And it may often happen, perhaps it often has happened, that men, who have read it for its beauties, have been impressed by the lessons it conveys; and, by beginning with the 'Holy Dying' of Taylor, have been led to study his 'Holy Living' with more advantage. It is remarkable, that, though its general style is more than usually poetical, even for its author, the prayers subjoined to the different chapters are less so than those either in the 'Holy Living,' or the 'Great Exemplar.' Perhaps he had been told of that which was the main fault in his devotional writings. Per-

haps the solemnity of the subject impressed him too deeply to allow his fancy to luxuriate as on former occasions.

To the same class with the works now described, but to a very inferior standard of taste and eloquence, must be referred the "Contemplations of the State of Man," and the treatise on "Christian Consolation." Both these were posthumous works; both are ascribed to Taylor on unquestionable authority; both have some passages conceived and expressed in his peculiar style, and the opinions delivered in both are so conformable to those of his acknowledged works, that there can be little doubt of his being the author. The former, however, is one which, in its present state, he would hardly have sent out to the world. It is marked, indeed, throughout, with genuine and characteristic piety. It displays, even more ostentatiously than Taylor was accustomed to do,—a strange and almost boundless familiarity with all kinds of reading, from the fathers and the schoolmen down to the voyages of the Buccaneers. Its author is evidently one before whom the page of ancient and modern history lay open: and whose mind was imbued with a recollection of the greatest poets and orators of antiquity. Nor are there wanting descriptions conceived in the powerful tone and animated feeling of a poet or an orator. But never were such powers and acquirements employed to garnish such a string of truisms;—to

tell us that time is always on the wing ;—that all human things are transitory ; because Thebes and Quinsay have both fallen into ruins* ; that the fame of the greatest of Europeans cannot hope to pass the barrier of the Riphean mountains, any more than the glory of “ Venestapadino Ragium, king of Narsinga,” hath sounded through the cities of the west. Life, he goes on to prove, is vain, because Homer likened the race of men to the leaves of the forest ; and the patriarchs, who sojourned on earth eight hundred years, esteemed their time but as a shadow. That it is miserable, he shews by divers strange instances of disease, such as of “ Feretrina, queen of the Barcæans, whose flesh turned into maggots and grubs,” and of Palæologus the Second, emperor of Constantinople, “ whose infirmity, after a year’s continuance, found no other remedy but to be *continually vexed and displeased* ;—his wife and servants, who most desired his health, having no ways to restore it but by disobedience, still crossing and opposing him in whatever he most desired.” That life must have an end, and all the beauty and excellency of the body perish ; that death is certain, and may come very shortly, he proves not only by the examples of Adam, Cain, Methuselah, and many other eminent persons, who have all had the misfortune to die ; but from the experience of those who attend on the dead, and witness the change of the body into corruption. By

such considerations as these no man was ever yet moved to think himself in danger of death; to slight the enticements of pleasure, or to despise the promises of ambition. He whose heart and hope are in the present life, is not the less likely to affix a high value on twenty years of worldly existence, because some men, who have lived eight hundred years, could have been content to live on longer. That our fame cannot reach to Japan or China is no very appalling consideration to those who have never contemplated a wider theatre of glory than Europe or England. And the homage of a single parish, the applause of a domestic circle, has ordinarily no less power to excite the ambition or the vanity of the human heart than the loudest praises of the mightiest nations. That we must die, and one day be turned into dust, the miser and the voluptuary are aware already; but they are considerations of a different and higher nature which alone have power to prevent either the one or the other from indulging in those pursuits which enable him to pass that short time agreeably. Such considerations, indeed, Taylor was not likely to forget; and after eight chapters filled with the ornaments which I have already described, he at length arrives at the end of the world, and the terrible judgment to which it is a prelude.

Even here, however, though it was impossible for him to avoid some bursts of sublimity, and though the subject itself is one which, in its bare enuncia-

tion, is sufficient to make the blood freeze and the ears tingle,—he has contrived, by a strange and laboured enumeration of circumstances, some unfounded on any scriptural authority, some fanciful or fabulous, some utterly trifling and insignificant, to distract the attention of his readers as much as possible from the grander features of the picture,—the “melting of the elements with fervent heat,”—“the coming of the Son of God in the air, with all his holy angels with him,”—“the throne of his glory,”—the “trumpet of God,”—and the simple, but awful terms of blessing and cursing.

What commentator on the Revelations, since the time of Cornelius à Lapide, has believed that the allegorical locusts, described by St. John, are to be devils in that shape, who, at the end of the world, shall issue from the bottomless pit? Who, that was really and fully impressed with the idea of all nature expiring in flames, could recollect that the works of Aristotle and Ulpian would then be consumed, or that the statue of massy gold, erected by Gorgias the Leontine, (*if not already destroyed*,) “shall perish in this great and general conflagration?”—Nor, though the circumstance is, in itself, picturesque and well-imagined, and though abundant use of it has been made in the hymns and paintings of the Romish church, will Protestants in general read with much faith or interest, that “before the Judge shall be borne his standard, which Chrysostom and divers

other doctors affirm shall be the very cross on which he suffered."

The second book is occupied in speculations on the glories of heaven and the miseries of hell,—pictures forcibly and ably drawn, but with much of bad taste, and still more of presumptuous fancy. Yet the practical observations of this latter part are far better than any in the preceding; and, while he expatiates on the glowing allegories employed in Scripture to express the rewards and punishments of eternity, as his imagination has a greater and more legitimate scope, so the images which he suggests are less mingled with trifling circumstances, and more calculated to impress the mind of his reader with exalted delight or terror. On the whole, there are, perhaps, more and greater faults of style in the "Contemplations on the State of Man," than in any of Taylor's other writings; but there are also beauties of description and of illustration, which, out of his writings, I know not where to find, and which, if he had written this work alone, would have raised him to no vulgar height among the divines of the seventeenth century.

Such is, perhaps, the following description of Christ; which, if it be too daring for a Christian teacher, is at least conceived in a tone of high poetical feeling, and which, in the circumstance of the twofold appearance of the same divine countenance to the wicked and the good, bears a strong re-

semblance to a fine passage in the Kehama of Mr. Southey*.

“The Saviour of the world shall sit upon a throne of great majesty; his countenance shall be most mild and peaceable towards the good, and, though the same, most terrible towards the bad: out of his sacred wounds shall issue beams of light towards the just, full of love and sweetness; but unto sinners full of fire and wrath, who shall weep bitterly for the evils which issue from them. So great shall be the majesty of Christ, that the miserable damned, and the devils themselves, notwithstanding the hate they bear him, shall yet prostrate themselves and adore him, and, to their greater confusion, acknowledge him for Lord and God: and those who have most blasphemed him shall then bow before him, fulfilling the promises of the eternal Father, that all things shall be subject unto him.

“This is the end wherein all time is to determine; and this the catastrophe, so fearful unto the wicked, where all things temporal are to conclude: let us, therefore, take heed how we use them; and, that we may use them well, let us be mindful of this last day, this day of justice and calamity, this day of terror and amazement; the memory whereof will serve much for the reformation of our lives: let us think of it, and fear it; for it is the most terrible of all things terrible, and the consideration most profitable

* Note (SS.)

and acceptable, to cause in us a holy fear of God, and to convert us unto him; while I live, I will, therefore, ever preserve in my memory this day of terror, that I may hereafter enjoy security for the whole eternity of God. Above all things, I will keep before my eyes the last of all days; and all the moments of my life I will think, and for ever think, of eternity*."

The "Christian Consolations" were originally written, as we are informed by the publisher in his preface, for the private use of a noble and excellent Lady, probably Anne, daughter of Sir Heneage Finch, and wife of his patron Edward Lord Conway, of whose benevolence and piety we read much in the writings of the excellent Henry More. She appears, from some parts even of his eulogium, and still more, from different slight circumstances mentioned of her in the Rawdon Papers†, to have been a woman of considerable powers of mind, and of a high and seraphical devotion; but credulous and low-spirited, suffering under continued ill-health, and indulging more than her husband seems to have patiently endured, in the privileges and fears of a hypochondriac invalid, and the austere retirement of a religious votary; a zealous pupil, at one period of her life, of the sublime absurdities of cabalistic Platonism; at another, the confiding patient of the miraculous Greatraiks, and, at length, entirely sur-

* Vol. iii. p. 479—481.

† Note (TT.)

rounded by Quakers, and enthusiasts of a yet wilder character. To such a person the Consolations which Taylor could offer might have been abundantly necessary and valuable: and, in fact, there is none of his works better calculated to bind up with rational and warrantable comfort, the wounds of an afflicted spirit, and to confirm a weak and wavering one in the safe and authentic path of faith and duty.

The treatise begins with stating the necessity of applying comfort rather than terror to those who are really impressed with a deep sense of the solemn truths of Christianity; and with shortly laying down the sources whence Christian comfort may be derived, from faith, from hope, from the graces of the Holy Ghost, from prayer, and the two sacraments. All these, as conducing to our present happiness as well as holiness, he discusses in five chapters,—none of them distinguished by the glowing beauties of some of his other productions, but all sensible, judicious, and affecting.

The following passage is interesting, not only from its own merit, but as in some respects (in all essential respects, indeed,) differing from the language which he would have held when he wrote the “*Doctrine of Repentance*.” The *Christian Consolations*, it may be observed, was one of Taylor’s last compositions.

“*Be merciful unto my sin, for it is great*, says David. This is not the way to deal with mortal

judges, when we stand at their bar: but this is the way to obtain propitiation from our God. Heal me, for I am sore wounded: cure me, for I am very sick: be merciful unto my sin, for it is very great! Zoizimus, a Pagan that envied the honour of Constantine the Great, makes this tale to discredit him in his history: that Constantine had put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death; after which, being haunted with an ill conscience that gave him no quiet, he sought among the heathen priests for expiation, and they could give him no peace; but he was told that the religion of Christians was so audacious as to promise pardon to all sins, were they never so horrible. Is not this to commend both the emperor and his religion under the form of a dispraise? For what rest could a troubled mind attain to from the rites and superstitions of idol gods? But, in the immense treasure of the price of the blood of Christ, there is redemption for every sinner that repents and believes."

Not that he, at any time, forgot the parts and offices of repentance.

"And beware that you overlook not these multitudes of sins of the under size, as if little grief or anxiety would serve for them. Are they not numberless grains of sand? And may not a weight of too much sand sink down a ship as soon as a burden of too much iron? The dailiness of sin must be bewailed with the dailiness of sorrow; and then,

when thou liest down, thou shalt not be afraid : yea, thou shalt lie down, and thy sleep shall be sweet."

The notions which he, at this time, entertained as to original sin, are also worth extracting. He is speaking of the difficulties which oppose us in our way to heaven; and what he now says sufficiently exculpates him from having imbibed the error of the Perfectionists.

"These difficulties are either in ourselves or in our adventure: in ourselves partly through natural imbecility, partly through contracted impotency. Our natural languor is that of original contagion, which makes us so weak that there is none that doth good, no not one. Which is not to be extenuated, as if the malignity of it might be suppressed with a little resistance. It is good to know the power of so strong an enemy, that we may be fortified against it. It is a root of bitterness never to be digged up out of corrupt nature: a coal of fire spitting out sparks of temptation continually, as inward to us as the marrow is in our bones. Yet there is hope in Christ to slake this fire, though not utterly, in this life, to quench it. Therefore, since God is our help against the insurrection of this rebellious sin, let us be comforted in his help and not in excuses. For we must not plead our personal maladies and natural inclinations, and think that God will take it for an answer and ask no more. To what purpose are the pourings out of the spirit, but that what is wickedly in-

bred from our conception should be shaken off from the tree, and a better fruit spring up in its place from the increase of God?"

His observations on spiritual influence, on prayer, and on the sacraments, are all excellent. On baptism he states that—

"Spiritual regeneration is that which the Gospel hath set forth to be the principal correlative of baptism. O happy it is for us to be born again by water and the Holy Ghost! For better it were never to be born than not to be born twice. I have assurance that the spirit is not disjoined from the water, for Christ's word cannot fail that we shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. *But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.* There is another cavil made by some, that, notwithstanding baptism, original sin remains in us all the days of our life. True, the sin is not blotted out in the infant, but it is blotted out of the book of God. And, as actual sins are pardoned for Christ's sake, yet it cannot be brought to pass that they should never be done which are done and past, but it is enough that they shall not be imputed; so original sin cleaves unto us: it is not cast out, for I feel it in me, but it is remitted."

Enough, however, has already been instanced to shew the value of this long-neglected and almost unknown manual, of which one single copy only was

known to exist, in the Bodleian Library, from which the reprint is taken which appears in the present volume. I will only give two more extracts. The one is so characteristic of Taylor's manner, as to be, in itself, almost sufficient to establish the authenticity of the volume.

“Mark the rain that falls from above, and the same shower that, dropped out of one cloud, increaseth sundry plants in a garden, and severally according to the condition of every plant. In one stalk it makes a rose, in another a violet, divers in a third, and sweet in all. So the Spirit works its multifarious effects in several complexions, and all according to the increase of God.”

The other I do not quote as praising or agreeing with it. It is a hard, and, I conceive, an unfounded statement of, at least in one very important instance, the spiritual state of the heathen. He maintains that neither Jews, nor Mahometans, nor Pagans, get any thing by that prayer to which the promise is made, “Ask, and ye shall have.”—“Such a faith as possessed idolaters is not that which impetrates mercy from God.”

Surely the instance, which he himself brings forward, of Nineveh, is a proof that even idolaters, and ‘à fortiori,’ Mahometans and Jews, by prayer and repentance of some of their most crying sins, may obtain from God very eminent and illustrious mercies.

His Sermons next offer themselves to our observa-

tion, sixty-four in number, of which all, even those which were preached on public and political occasions, may be regarded as in a great degree practical. Of them a less accurate examination is necessary, inasmuch as no sermons of that age, perhaps of any other age, are more frequently on the tables and in the hands of general readers. To praise them would be idle and unnecessary; and their faults, like their merits, are obvious even to a careless observer. To estimate, however, those merits sufficiently, it is necessary to bear in mind the difficulties attendant on this style of composition; and the few good models, (besides St. Chrysostom, whom in many respects he much resembled) which Taylor, at the commencement of his career, had before him.

It would be a long inquiry, and one which is by no means necessary to my subject, to enter into the causes of that remarkable decay of eloquence, which may be said to have taken its rise among the Greeks and Romans, from the time at which the usurpation of the Cæsars had reduced their world to the sullen calm of despotism. This deficiency, beyond a doubt, as it extended to Pagans as well as Christians, and was felt while Christianity was as yet politically insignificant, arose from causes distinct from any peculiar habits of the Christian church.

Yet, so far as this last was concerned, (in which the popular form of government, and the sermons preached in their different assemblies, might have

led us to expect a different result,) it is evident that the system of homilies, of which description are most of the addresses of the fathers to their congregations, though of all others, perhaps, the best fitted for general edification, was in itself unfavourable to the exercise of oratorical talent.

A running commentary requires conciseness, and even abruptness: and the necessity of discussing many different passages in succession, is almost inconsistent with a connected and lucid chain of argument; with a brilliant peroration; or a comprehensive exposition of general principles.

And there were other causes which tended still more to corrupt the taste of preachers; of which the first was that fondness, derived from the cabbalistic Jews, of detecting an internal sense in the plainest passages of Scripture; and still more, the custom of applying such passages "by way of accommodation," to subjects the most foreign from their known meaning,—of which a good many instances may be found in Jerome; in succeeding fathers still more; and, most of all, in the divines of what are called the dark ages.

Thus, when Jerome allegorizes, in his epistle to Fabiola*, the different ornaments of the Jewish high priest into the different virtues and graces of a Christian; when Athanasius finds out the penitent thief

* Hieron. Op. ii. 38. 1. Ed. Francof.

on his cross in the second verse of the second chapter of Habakkuk ; when Gregory the Great makes Jericho at once a symbol of the moon and of our mortal nature ; and, above all, when Bernard derives the word *diabolus* from “ two pockets* ;” it is difficult to believe that they can have intended these fancies as argumentative, or to prove to their hearers any thing but the talents and acuteness of their teachers. Such, however, were the favourite ornaments of Christian orators for a long lapse of ages ; and this taste, which of course, by degrees, degenerated into mere quibbling, was not yet extinct, as we learn from Echard’s *Contempt of the Clergy*, in England during the life of Taylor, and prevailed, if we may believe the author of “ *Fray Gerundio*,” in Spain at a much later period.

Another cause which materially contributed to detract from the elegance and eloquence of sermons, was the slavish subjection under which all Christendom was brought by the schoolmen, whose dicta were quoted as, in all cases, a definitive authority ; and whose subtle distinctions and endless subdivisions were, no less than their peculiar and technical phraseology, made the model of style as well as the landmarks of intellect.

I am far, indeed, from being inclined to join in an indiscriminate neglect or ridicule of those laborious

* Note (UU.)

and able men, whose works, to judge from a very small acquaintance with them, are often models of fair and patient investigation, and whose errors are rather from their imperfect means of knowledge than from any defect in (what they principally professed) their mode of arranging knowledge already acquired. Still farther am I from considering a familiarity with the forms and principles of logic as otherwise than most advantageous to whoever would think accurately or express himself with clearness.

But the unseasonable application and ostentatious production of these studies, as the first perplexed an eminent truth in a multiplicity of insignificant distinctions, so the second resembled the fault of those unskilful painters who strip the skins from their figures, that the muscles and anatomy may be admired. The accuracy of the skeleton should be traced in the correct proportion of the perfect limbs; the logical precision of the orator should be felt in the invulnerable nature of his arguments; but neither the bones nor the syllogisms need be exposed to view, in the finished picture or the finished oration. Yet thus unprofitably minute, thus repulsively scholastic, are by far the greater part of the most eminent divines from the middle ages down to the civil war; while those others who, like the Franciscans, the early reformers, and the puritans, found a more popular style indispensably necessary to their purposes, sought popularity in a homeliness of language and allusion;

in a merriment misapplied, and a robust and striking, but rustic familiarity with sacred things, which often impresses us with its vigour and amuses us with its quaintness; though, at the present day, no preacher in his senses would venture on it, nor would any audience endure it. Even when the usual style of other compositions was singularly flowing and majestic, these errors of stiffness or bad taste continued long to cleave to the pulpit; and though the homilies of the church are an early and illustrious exception, abundant specimens of all the several faults which I have noticed may be found in most sermons from the Reformation down to the time of Taylor.

Of these very faults, indeed, though he himself, in his subsequent works, has almost entirely escaped the contagion, we find, in his earliest Sermon, on the Gunpowder Treason, some evident traces, though, even here, they are blended with and redeemed by merits, which gave ample promise of the fruit which his maturer years might supply.

The text is that verse of St. Luke, (chapter ix. verse 54,) in which the disciples of our Lord ask permission to call down fire from heaven on the inhospitable Samaritan villagers. In applying this passage to the event which he commemorates, he proposes to discuss, first, the *persons by whom*, in either case respectively, (that of the instance recorded in the Gospel and that of the gunpowder conspiracy,) the

proposition was made to bring destruction on men, of a different religion : secondly, the reasons alleged for such a proposition : thirdly, the persons to whom the proposition was made : fourthly, the nature of the proposition itself : fifthly, the example or precedent which was pleaded for it.

Here is enough, and more than enough, of the formality of scholastic arrangement ; but I fear we shall not find much of the clearness and accuracy which alone can make such a formal arrangement valuable. Of these heads, the greater number are merely solemn trifling, inasmuch as the answers to them are either too self-evident to admit of discussion, or too remote in their bearing on the general course of his argument to be valuable to the purposes of a logician. The *last* topic of inquiry, (the example or precedent of Elias,) which might have been made extremely interesting and instructive, as involving the same grand question of religious persecution which Taylor afterwards discussed so ably, he, in this place, merely notices without any discussion whatever. In treating of the remainder, and in comparing the relative situation of the apostles and the Romish Clergy, he is not satisfied with the real point of similiarity in both being professed followers of the Messiah, but runs into a string of frigid conceits to shew that the proposal was in both instances of *apostolic* origin ; inasmuch as, though the immediate contrivers of the powder plot were laymen, yet

the Church of Rome (originally founded by the apostle Peter,) having allowed and applauded similar acts of atrocity, had given the first encouragement to such a project! Taylor may be thought to have forgotten both the new and the old organon when he quibbled thus egregiously; but this was the style of ornament in favour with his age, of which I have prepared the reader to expect some instances, and which was, in fact, intended to prove nothing but the wit and ingenuity of the preacher.

This trifling is, however, mixed up with much graver and more powerful matter. The proofs which he advances to shew the opinion of the Romish church as to the legality of deposing and destroying heretical sovereigns, (from Saunders, who advised a crusade against them, to Emanuel Sa, who justified their assassination, and Mariana, who recommended poison, as the surest means of accomplishing it,) are, unhappily, but too cogent and conclusive. But these are here clearly out of their place, and, according to his own proposed arrangement, belong more properly to the second branch of the inquiry; in which, (after examining and combating the causes alleged by the Romanists themselves for the atrocious attempt in question, and the general disaffection of their party, which led them to it,) he insists, that it is futile to speak of our severities as having been the occasion of the gunpowder-plot; when their own accursed principles, if not necessarily or uni-

versally, yet naturally and regularly conducted and compelled them, even as a matter of reason and conscience, to the dethronement and destruction, by any and every means, of heretical sovereigns and senates.

In combating, however, the pretexts for discontent alleged by the Papists, as arising from the conduct of the English government towards their sect, the preacher is not altogether successful. Thus, the fine imposed on recusants for not attending the public worship of the national church, he endeavours to clear them from the stain of religious persecution, by urging that such recusancy could not have proceeded from religious motives. The Romanists, he observes, had actually and usually attended the service of the Church of England, from the first to the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth, when Pius the Fifth sent forth his bull for the excommunication and dethronement of that princess. "It is plain," he argues, "that religion did not make them absent themselves from our churches, unless they had changed their religion since the bull came over. For, if religion could consist with their communicating with us before the bull, (as it is plain it did,) then why not after the bull, unless it be part of their religion to obey the Pope rather than God, commanding us to obey our prince?"

This is, surely, a quibble unworthy both of the cause and its advocate. Taylor knew perfectly well

that it is a part of the religion of the sect in question to deny that God has given to the temporal prince any power whatever, “circa res sacras;” and to believe that all authority of this kind, under God, was centred in the Pope alone. And he must have perceived that, though they might lawfully attend the ordinances of the national religion, so long as that religion was tolerated or not condemned by the Pope; and though, in acting thus, they shewed a laudable desire to obey their temporal sovereign as far as possible; yet, when the king and the Pope issued contrary mandates on such subjects, they were bound by their religion to obey the latter rather than the former. The question was not, whether they acted reasonably in receiving and maintaining such an article of faith,—but whether this *was* an article of faith for acting on which they were punished; and, this being certain, it is altogether as certain that the mulct imposed on the popish recusants was, to all intents and purposes, “soul-money;” and liable, as such, to all the unanswerable objections which Taylor has himself elsewhere brought forward against the principle of persecution for conscience sake.

He is more fortunate, however, in his apology for the severities denounced against the publishers of the bull in question, and against the toleration of the Romish priests in a land whose tranquillity their daily conduct menaced. The publication of the bull

was evidently seditious, and what no sovereign could endure without virtually renouncing the sovereignty. The priests were the avowed agents of a foreign and hostile potentate, and had already begun those practices against the authority and life of the queen, which were only rendered more atrocious by the fact that they were many of them her native subjects. And, in the exposure which follows of the language held, the doctrines sanctioned, and the line of conduct pursued by the Romish hierarchy towards Elizabeth and other princes similarly situated, the author may be said to have almost justified the severe reprobation with which he winds up this part of his discourse, that, "so far from its being strange that their people call for fire to consume the Protestants, it would be rather a wonder if they did not;" and that, "although it be no rare or unusual a thing for a Papist to be, *de facto*, loyal and duteous to his prince, yet it is a wonder he is so, since such doctrines have been taught by such masters."

In considering the persons to whom the contrivers of the plot intrusted their intentions, their confessors, namely, and spiritual guides, he discusses at some length, and with great learning and acuteness, the question of how far those confessors were bound to conceal or disclose the horrible secret communicated to them. He maintains, first, that the communication made to Garnet did not come under the

character of a confession at all, in the ecclesiastical sense of the term; inasmuch as it was not the acknowledgement of a sin already passed and then repented of, but the proposition of a measure prospectively determined on, which the propounders did not regard as sinful, but on the expediency of which they consulted their spiritual guides; and which, notwithstanding the contrary opinion of those guides, they still continued to meditate. It was allowable, therefore, in Garnet and his brethren, even on their own principles; and, if allowable, it was, on every principle of justice and charity, incumbent on them to disclose the crime which they had no other means of preventing.

But this is not all; for, secondly, he examines into the antiquity and authority of that rule which they pretend for the inviolable secrecy and sanctity of confession; and proves most triumphantly, from the admission of the best casuists of their own sect, that there are certain cases in which confessions may and must be divulged: as, where it is necessary to prevent an incestuous marriage; to bring to light a lurking heresy; or where the penitent himself allows the confessor to reveal his secret. But treason, he argues, is, at least, as criminal and dangerous as incest or heresy; and, if the permission of the individual dispenses with the oath of the priest, much more will this be the effect of the prior relation in which both priest and penitent stand to the nation

of which they are members, and the sovereign to whom they owe allegiance. And, in the particular case of treason, he shews that, both in France and at Rome, it has been usual and always accounted allowable to reveal such confessions as involved the death of the sovereign. And that the obligation to keep all confession secret, rests, in fact, on no other or stronger sanction than that which binds every good man to conceal, in ordinary cases, a secret imparted to him, he shews, by the ancient practice of both the Eastern and Western Churches. Both these, he observes, not only authorised, but, in some instances, enjoined the priest to reveal to the whole congregation whatever more crying sins had been, under this seal, communicated to him. He proves that it was, at one time, esteemed the duty of the confessor to impart to the church *all* the transgressions which thus came to his knowledge; and that the decree of St. Leo, which relaxed this inconvenient obligation, extended no farther than to permit and enjoin the priest, at his discretion, to keep *some* sins secret, "lest men, out of inordinate love to themselves, should rather refuse to be washed than buy their purity with so much shame." He concludes, therefore, that the confessors of Digby and his associates were bound, on every principle of their own canons, and of general Christianity, to divulge the meditated treason.

The rest of the sermon is occupied in descanting

on the nature and enormity of the destruction which was contemplated, and he concludes with a pathetic exhortation to thankfulness and piety.

Of the affectation and frigid pedantry which pervaded most of the writings of that age, and from which Taylor, in his subsequent works, to a great degree emancipated himself, several instances may be found in this sermon. Sometimes the preacher indulges himself in the use of foreign terms and modish barbarisms, such as no judicious orator would introduce into a solemn or pathetic composition. "There is fire in the text," he tells us, "consuming fire, like that whose *qutevorta* we this day commemorate." After the coming of the Messiah, the spirit of Elias is said to be "*out of date*;" and in the Jesuits, "we may quickly find out more than a *pareil* for St. James and St. John, the Boanerges of the text." Such terms as these have neither the homely vigour of colloquial English, nor the pomp and gravity of derivatives from the learned languages: — they were, in their day, the mere cant of travelled foppery, and were the last remnants of that Babylonish euphuism, which, from the example of the court, had infected the language of the bar, the parliament, and the pulpit.

Sometimes, in his attempt, (a very needless one,) to exaggerate the enormity of the transaction, he lays a stress on circumstances in themselves merely indifferent. If a base and cowardly destruction of

the whole nobility of a country were resolved on, it mattered little or nothing by what agent their death was to be effected. Taylor, however, is of a different opinion, and makes it a leading aggravation of the crime of the conspirators, that they designed to employ so devilish an agent as gunpowder. The apostles, he tells us, "would have had their fire from heaven, but these men's conversation was not there! Τα κατωθεν, things from beneath, from an artificial hell, but breathed from the natural and proper, were in all their thoughts!" Sometimes the preacher is facetious — "If his Holiness be wronged in the business, I have no hand in it. The speech was avouched for as authentic by the approbation of three doctors. Let them answer it. I wash my hands of the accusation." — Again: "If to heir anathemas they add some faggots of their own and gunpowder, 'tis odds but we may be consumed indeed!"

There are other passages, however, far more in the usual and appropriate style of Taylor, and which should abundantly redeem this earliest of his writings from indiscriminate neglect or censure. That cause, he says, bore a fair excuse, which moved James and John to a wrath so inconsiderate. "It would have disturbed an excellent patience to see Him whom, but just before, they beheld transfigured in a glorious epiphany upon the mount, to be so

neglected by a company of hated Samaritans as to be forced to keep his vigils where nothing but the welkin should have been his roof, nor any thing to shelter his precious head from the descending dews of heaven." — "When first," he shortly afterwards observes, "when first I considered they were apostles, I wondered that they should be so intemperately angry. But, when I perceived they were so angry, I wondered not that they sinned. Not the privilege of an apostolical spirit, not the nature of angels, not the condition of immortality, can guard from the danger of sin; but, if we are over-ruled by passion, we almost subject ourselves to its necessity. It was not, therefore, without reason, that the Stoics affirmed wise men to be void of passions; for, sure I am, the inordination of any passion is the first step to folly. And, although of them, as of waters of a muddy residence, we may make good use, and quench our thirst, if we do not trouble them; yet, upon any ungente disturbance, we drink down mud instead of a clear stream, and the issues of sin and sorrow, certain consequents of a temerarious or inordinate anger."

In the conclusion, after instancing "the sacrilegious ruins of the neighbouring temples, which must needs have perished in the flame," — "the disturbing the ashes of our entombed kings, devouring their bodies like sepulchral dogs;" and observing

that "these are but minutes in respect of the ruin prepared for the living temples," he proceeds :

"Stragem sed istam non tulit
Christus, cadentum principum
Impune, ne forsā sui
Patris periret fabrica.

"Ergo quæ potuit lingua retexere
Laudes, Christe, tuas, qui domitum struis,
Infidum populum cum duce perfido*."

"Let us, then, return to God the cup of thanksgiving, he having poured forth so largely to us of the cup of salvation!—We cannot want wherewithal to fill it. Here is matter enough for an eternal thankfulness, for the expression of which a short life is too little; but let us here begin our hallelujahs, hoping to finish them hereafter, where the many choirs of angels will fill the concert†."

On this first production of Jeremy Taylor's abilities I have bestowed a large, and what may seem perhaps to some, a disproportionate share of notice. But it is his first production. Its very faults belong to the history of the time, and increase our respect for his subsequent and more illustrious labours; and the topics which it discusses are of no slight or transient importance, but have reference to disputes of

* Note (I.)

† Vol. vi. p. 625.

which we are not likely to see the end, to principles which, in every age of the church, are important. And, though his style had not yet received its full polish, and though his arguments are, in some instances, not well concocted, the facts which he has collected in the history and philosophy of religion, are such as to mark his Sermon on the Gunpowder Treason for one of the most important and powerful attacks on the Jesuits and the Romish hierarchy.

This sermon, which at first appeared separately, was never, I believe, reprinted by Taylor during his life-time. His next publication of the same kind was a collection of fifty-two Sermons, described as "a Yearly Course," or *Ενιαυτος*, divided into two volumes, for the winter and summer half years; of which that was first published which now stands last in order. Why he thus denominated them I am at a loss to conjecture: since, with the exception of two Sermons for Whitsunday, and three on the Advent of Christ to Judgment, there are none which, either by text or matter, are more adapted to one day than another; while even the solemn festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Trinity, are passed over without any particular notice. Nor is this deficiency supplied by any of the sermons in the supplement: these are, with three exceptions which might have been preached at any time, preached on different local topics, or before different public bodies; but none of them are for those days when an appropriate

composition is ordinarily called for by the practice of the Church of England. The cause of this singularity I cannot conjecture. If he had not named Whitsunday, it might have been ascribed to a necessary compliance with the prejudices of the faction then in power, whose aversion from all such ecclesiastical distinction of days is sufficiently known to have been excessive. But, when one festival of the Church was named, it could have, in this respect, availed him nothing to pass over the others in silence; and in his other writings he has paid no such respect to the prejudices of his contemporaries. I own, I regret the want of some such discourses in the present collection; because, with Taylor's peculiar talent for whatever is picturesque or poetical in religion, we might have anticipated from him some very splendid displays of oratory and pathos, when discussing those awful images of power, of mercy, and of suffering, which the return of days like these is intended to recal more forcibly. And when it is recollected how greatly we have most of us been affected, by the conformity observed between the day and its devotions,—the Scriptures read, and the sermons preached on such occasions,—we may well conceive to how good purpose these advantages must have been employed by the impassioned and affectionate eloquence of Jeremy Taylor.

Nor is this the only circumstance which may, at first, surprise us. It may still more excite our won-

der that such sermons as these should have been addressed to any but an audience exclusively academical. An university alone, and an university of no ordinary erudition, appears the fitting theatre for discourses crowded, as these are, with quotations from the classics and the fathers; with allusions to the most recondite topics of moral and natural philosophy; with illustrations drawn from all the arts and sciences, and from history ancient and modern, clothed in a language rich and harmonious, indeed, beyond all contemporary writers, but abounding in words of foreign extraction, and in unusual applications of those which are of native origin. Nor should I have hesitated to conclude, that most of Taylor's sermons had been really composed and intended only for an academical audience, had not the author himself informed us, in his title-page and his dedication to Lord Carbery, that they were preached at Golden Grove, to the family and domestics of his patron; or, at most, to a few gentlemen and ladies of that secluded neighbourhood, and to as many of the peasantry on the estate as could understand English. It is true, perhaps, that in those days a learned style of preaching was not only more frequently affected by divines, but more generally popular with their auditories than it has been during the last century; and that they who could least understand a sermon, were not, therefore, the least ready to applaud it. The popularity of some preachers has

descended to our times, who seem to have had scarcely any other stock in trade than a quantity of good and sufficient Greek and Hebrew quotations; while, on the other hand, the simplicity and unaffected plainness of the admirably learned Pocock was regarded, by the rustics of his parish, as a proof that, "though a kind and neighbourly man, he was no Latinist." Taylor, however, had no need of such arts, and was by far too conscientious to employ them. He was too good, as well as too wise; too earnestly intent on amending the hearts and saving the souls of his hearers, to have amused their ears with that which could not reach their understanding; and I am therefore much inclined to believe, that, in preparing his sermons for the press, he materially changed them from the compositions which he had delivered to his rustic auditory in South Wales; or, that they had really been, in the first instance, designed for the university pulpit; and that, when preaching them at Golden Grove, he had recourse to such extemporaneous omissions or alterations as suited the abilities and circumstances of his congregation.

Such omissions or alterations would, in fact, leave the essential merits of the discourse in a great measure unimpaired. The tenor of its reasoning would remain unbroken, though the recondite illustrations were withdrawn. Those illustrations and images which, as is the case with no small number in Tay-

lor's works, are borrowed from natural objects, would produce a yet more powerful effect in proportion as those objects were familiar to his hearers. The practical wisdom of his counsels; his awful denunciations of God's judgments against sin; his admirable topics of consolation to the penitent; his affectionate earnestness, and his yet more persuasive piety, would lose none of their power if delivered in more homely language: and those persons are mistaken, who apprehend that a congregation in the humble ranks of life are unequal to the task of following up the most accurate chain of reasoning, if conveyed in words of which they know the meaning. To lay down a general rule for the selection of such a popular language is not, indeed, very easy; but it will be found, for the most part, that words of Saxon or Teutonic derivation, as they are more forcible and expressive to all English ears, so to an uninstructed English ear they are usually far more intelligible than those terms (however familiar to the educated part of the nation,) which are of French or Latin origin.

But whatever the sermons of Taylor may have been, as delivered from the pulpit and to a miscellaneous or vulgar auditory, it is certain that, as essays for the closet, and as intended for those into whose hands they usually fall, few compositions can be named so eminently distinguished by fancy, by judgment, by learning, and by powers of reasoning; few,

where the mind is so irresistibly allured, if not to agree with the author, at least to think well of him; or where so much luxuriance of imagination, and so much mellowness of style, are made the vehicles of divinity so sound, and holiness so practical. Those persons will, in fact, be much deceived, (they may be, perhaps, deceived to their own infinite advantage,) who take up his sermons as a book of amusement only; in which little is to be found but quaint singularities of expression, and pedantic, though brilliant and characteristic ornament. As little will those do justice to their merits, who draw back from their perusal in the expectation of finding precepts too rigid and ascetic for our nature or the general frame of society: the dicta of one who had forgotten or never experienced the temptations of the world, or the inexpediency of laying down an impracticable measure of duty. No writer, with whose works I am acquainted, has spoken more wisely, or with a greater knowledge of the human heart; none more moderately, or (except in those particulars where the souls of men are really endangered,) more indulgently, than Taylor in his *Enchiridion*; and, while his sermons on "Godly Fear" lay bare with a needful and scrupulous austerity the ruinous self-deceptions of a pretended repentance, and of that transient sorrow for sin or its consequences, which too many mistake for amendment, no writer has given a more just and beautiful picture of the goodness and gentleness

of our Almighty Parent, than may be found in his discourses on the "Miracles of the Divine Mercy*." Of the rest, the "House of Feasting," and the "Marriage Ring," are perhaps the most characteristic, and distinguished by the greatest liveliness of fancy; while a very curious and difficult question is acutely and profitably discussed in the sermon on "the Entail of Curses." And (though some of his positions are here, as on former occasions, laid down with too great and unqualified severity,) many awful and alarming truths are powerfully expressed, where he is treating of what he considers "The Invalidity of a Death-bed Repentance." Of all, the most likely to be practically useful are, perhaps, the two on "the Flesh and the Spirit," and those on the "Growth of Sin, and the several Estates of Sinners." All, however, may be read with profit; and, by a man of genius, none can be read without delight and admiration.

To the *Ενιαυτος*, the *Δεκας ἐμβολιμαιος* appeared as a supplement, several years after, with a Dedication to the high-minded and stately Dutchess of Ormond; who, though profuse in her expenses, and haughty in her demeanour, was fond of religious reading, and really endowed with many distinguished and some amiable qualities. It consists, (1.) of three Sermons on subjects referring to general practice, preached in

Christ Church, Dublin, but adapted to any occasion and to any well-informed audience: (2.) Three Sermons on Public Occasions, already spoken of, at an Episcopal Consecration, before the Irish Parliament, and before the University of Dublin: (3.) Two Funeral Sermons, on the Death of the Primate, and on that of the Countess of Carbery: and, (4.) Two, to the Clergy of his Diocese, on the duties of the Christian Ministry. They are followed, in the present edition, by his first published sermon, and by the Funeral Sermon in Memory of Sir George Dalstone. Of these, the Sermons preached before the Parliament and the University of Dublin have been sufficiently noticed, as well as the Funeral Sermon on Archbishop Bramhall: they are parts, indeed, of Taylor's public life, and could not, without impropriety, be separated from it. For the rest, those preached at the Funerals of Lady Carbery and Sir George Dalstone, are remarkable not only for the beauty of their language and imagery, (in which respect the former is not surpassed by any of his most elaborate productions,) but for the powerful and persuasive manner in which, while rendering due honour to the dead, they warn and instruct the living, and improve the moments of grief and serious thought to the lasting advantage of their hearers.

In other compositions of a similar character, we often find the main body of the discourse engrossed by a laboured panegyric; while the religious lesson

is crowded into a narrow corner, and treated as an accessory only. Such funeral sermons as these can lay claim to no further merit than belongs to a hatband or a mourning-ring,—mere testimonies of respect and regret, in which the friends of the deceased alone are concerned; or which have, at best, no general value but what arises from the material or the workmanship.

But in the labours of Taylor, the foremost place was always given to the glory of God and the salvation of his hearers. From the death of his patroness he takes occasion (in the first instance, and before he describes her virtues,) to enlarge, in a strain of moving eloquence, on the uncertainty of life, and the method of enabling ourselves to meet death hopefully. And his account of Sir George Dalstone is introduced by an able and interesting inquiry on the sources whence the heathen obtained their knowledge of a life to come; on the usual lot of holy men in the present life; and on the abode and condition of the soul between death and the resurrection.

The two Sermons on the “Minister’s Duty in Life and Doctrine,” may yet call for some observations; inasmuch as, in the first of these, while enforcing, with much earnest and awful eloquence, the paramount necessity of personal holiness in the clergy, he has been hurried to a length inconsistent with sound reason, with the analogy of Scripture, and the usual faith of Christians.

After magnifying, in a strain which is not unusual with him, the dignity of the ministerial office, by the consideration that, as Christians in general are chosen and sanctified from the world, so the clergy are chosen and sanctified from the general body of Christians, he urges, with great force and justice, that,—

“ If, of every one of the Christian congregation God expects a holiness that mingles with no unclean thing ;”—“ If he accepts of none of the people, unless they have within them the conjugation of all the Christian graces ;”—“ If he hath made them lights in the world, and salt of the earth, to enlighten others with their good example, and to teach them and invite them by holy discourses and wise counsels ;”—“ What is it, think ye, or with what words is it possible to express what God requires of you? They are to be examples of good life to one another; but you are to be examples even of the examples themselves*.”

This is as true as it is eloquent and awful. He also urges, with great reason, that a wicked life is the greatest impediment to the success of any man's ministry ; inasmuch as his bad conscience is a continued reproof of his own teaching, and his bad example a no less continued dissuasive to his people's learning. Him, therefore, who teaches what

he does not practise, he describes as "sitting in the chair of the scornful;" as "mocking God, and mocking the people;" as "destroying the benefits of the people, and diminishing the blessings of God."

What follows, however, is of more doubtful character: "This is but the least evil: there is yet much worse behind. A wicked minister cannot, with success and benefit, pray for the people of his charges."—"This is the priest's office; and if the people lose the benefits of this, they are undone."—"What, then, do you think will be the event of those assemblies, where he that presents the prayers of all the people, is hateful to God? Will God receive the oblation that is offered to him by an impure hand; and can we hope that the minister who, with wrath, and doubting, and covetousness, presents the people's prayers, that even those intercessions shall pierce the clouds and ascend the mercy-seat, and descend with a blessing?"—"The ecclesiastical order is by Christ appointed to minister his Holy Spirit to the people; the priests in baptism, and the holy eucharist, and prayer, and intercession; the bishop in all these, and in ordination beside, and in confirmation, and in solemn blessing. Now, then, consider what will be the event of this without effect: Can he minister the Spirit, from whom the Spirit of God is departed *?" &c.

It is hardly necessary to point out the inconsistency of such a statement with the doctrine laid down by the Church of England in her 26th article, or with all our usual notions of the justice and mercy of that God, who can never, it may be presumed, allow the devotions of his people to be vitiated by offences over which they have no control, and for which they have no remedy.

Of this, Taylor himself seems sensible, when he admits that, "without his own fault, no man shall perish;" that, "He that says amen, if he heartily desire what the other perfunctorily and with his lips only utters, not praying with his heart and with the acceptabilities of a good life, the amen shall be more than all the prayer, and the people shall prevail for themselves when the priest could not*."

The misfortune is, that he speaks of this aid and comfort of the Holy Ghost, which the believing assistant shall obtain, notwithstanding the sins of his priest, as something "extraordinary" and "irregular;" as if God, in this case, "did his work alone;" as if the Spirit came "in ways of his own, and *prevented* the external rites and *prepossessed* the hearts of his servants," while the people became, under such circumstances, their own priests, and got "nothing or but very little by the ministration of their minister;" or even, as he elsewhere expresses it, "the

prayers of innocent people, being presented by an ungracious minister and intercessor, were very much hindered in prevailing."

Now, it is plain that this principle, if carried to its full but legitimate extent, would overturn all church government whatever; since, if the people get "nothing or but very little from the ministry of the priest," there can be no reason for attending on that ministry. Every man who found, or fancied he found, some human frailty in the "angel of his congregation," would be justified in withdrawing from a place where "his prayers were very much hindered in prevailing." And if, under such circumstances, "themselves also become priests unto God," it is evident that their solitary devotions, or devotion offered by them in conventicles, would be so far from schismatical, that they would be in the likeliest course to be accepted. If this had been true, the Israelites would have done well in "abhorring the offering of the Lord," when Hophni and Phineas ministered at his altar; which yet, we find, was so far from being the case, that it was charged as an additional sin on these profane sacrificers, that "they made the Lord's people to *transgress*." "The Scribes and Pharisees," said our Lord, "sit in Moses' seat; whatsoever therefore they say unto you, that do and observe, but after their works do ye not."

The truth is, that Taylor has strangely con-

founded the *personal* with the *official* character of the minister; that character by which he is himself to stand or fall, with that which he possesses as the appointed instrument of God's mercies, and, in consequence, of the covenant between Christ and the whole congregation of the faithful. The *personal* and *private* prayers of a wicked priest must, certainly, fail of their effect, or bring down a curse instead of a blessing. But his *public* and *ministerial* prayers are not his own, but those of the great body of his constituents, which he, in their names, and as their organ, offers to God; while, on the other hand, the spiritual graces which he conveys in the sacrament are not his own, (perhaps he may have no share in them) but the bounty of God, of which he is the unworthy channel.

It is, indeed, most true that the priest is bound to pray for the people, not only publicly but privately; not only in his official, but also in his personal capacity. And as, in the discharge of his ministerial function, he prays on his own behalf as well as theirs, the obligation is most powerful which rests on those of our profession, so to frame our lives that our devotion may be acceptable. The fervent prayer of any righteous man availeth much; and the public service of the church may avail the more when he who pronounces it is one whom the Almighty hears with favour. But though the

prayers of the whole body may *gain* force from the intercessions of a holy minister, they cannot be supposed to *lose* their proper efficacy, though the congregation should be less fortunate in their prolocutor.

I admit that, in all cases where the people are in any degree answerable for their minister's guilt, they are likely to derive no advantage from his ministry. If he has departed from the church, and they support him in his schism; if, knowing his life or doctrine to be scandalous, they elect him in the first instance as their functionary; or if they refuse or neglect to complain of him to those superiors who have power to correct or displace him, the sin is theirs as well as his; and they have reason to fear that such answers only will be given to their prayers, as petitions usually receive when sent by an obnoxious messenger.

But, where the people have no knowledge of the crime, or can obtain no redress or abatement of the scandal; when the function is not only public, but recognised by God's word and the authority of ecclesiastical superiors, that cannot be imputed to them as a fault which is only their great misfortune: nor can the mutual communication of prayer and grace be impeded by the unworthiness of the channel, any more than the bad character of a public carrier can vitiate the letters which pass

through his hands. In the instance already mentioned, Hannah prayed and was accepted, though the sacrificers were sons of Belial.

Nor can it be said with truth that, where no remedy is to be had, the people "get nothing or very little" by attendance on the ministry of a wicked person. Through his ministry they may, surely, obtain the ordinary means of grace, "the sacraments generally necessary to salvation:" they may offer up their prayers, through his ministry, under the circumstances to which a peculiar blessing and the especial presence of Christ is promised. The very unworthiness of their elder may be improved into an opportunity of exercising their faith, their obedience, and their charity; their faith, as relying on God alone for the performance of his gracious promises; their obedience, as complying with the commanded rite under discouraging and disgusting circumstances; their charity, as bearing with their brother's faults, as praying with him, and for him. But while such as these may, by God's grace, reap grapes from thorns and figs from thistles, "they who have preached to them," (to use Taylor's own words,) "shall have the curse of Hananeel and the reward of Balaam, the wages of unrighteousness. But thus it was, when the wise men asked the doctors where Christ should be born; they told them right; but the wise men went

to Christ and found him ; and the doctors sate still and went not."

The rest of the first discourse, and the whole of the second, are unexceptionable in point of theology ; and, in piety, learning, eloquence, and good sense, are admirable. Nothing can be more awful than the manner in which he concludes his first Sermon, with a description of the labour, the difficulty, the danger, and, on the other hand, the blessedness of the ministerial office ; with a warning that many things are lawful for the people which are scandalous in the clergy, and that the common life of the one must exceed the piety of the other. "Remember," he exclaims to his clerical hearers ; "Remember your dignity to which Christ hath called you !" "Shall such a man as I flee ?" said the brave Eleazar, — "shall the stars be darkness, — shall the ambassadors of Christ neglect to do their king honour, — shall the glory of Christ do dishonourable and inglorious actions ?" "Ye are the glory of Christ," saith St. Paul ; "remember that ! I can say no greater thing ; unless possibly this may add some moments for your care and caution, that '*potentes potenter cruciabuntur** !'"

It was thus that Taylor pressed on the consciences of his brethren, "not only to be innocent

* Vol. vi. p. 506.

and void of offence, but also to be holy ; not only pure, but shining ; not only to be blameless, but to be didactic in your lives ; that as, by your Sermons, you preach in season, so, by your lives, you may preach out of season ; that is, at all seasons, and to all men ; that they, seeing your good works, may glorify God, on your behalf and on their own !”

His second Sermon, on the Doctrine of Ministers, may surprise a modern divine by the little remembered names of those authors whose commentaries he recommends, and whose works are now of no frequent occurrence in any but college libraries. There are not many scholars of the present day who owe very many or very great obligations to “Sixtus Senensis,” — to “the excellent book, of Hugo de Sancto Victore,” — to “the Prolegomena of Serarius,” — “Andreas Hyperius,” — or the “Hypotoposes of Martinus Cantipratensis.” It may excite, also, some surprise that no English work is named ; and that those of Erasmus, Castellio, Melancthon, and Grotius, are passed over in silence. Those will be, however, agreeably disappointed, who anticipate, from the honour paid to these obsolete writers, an obsolete, and, for modern times, an unprofitable rationale of doctrine. No work that I am acquainted with displays more sound and enlarged views of scriptural interpretation : in none of equal length are so many useful hints afforded

for the choice of subjects; — the avoiding of useless controversies; — the inculcation of truth in the manner least likely to provoke hostility; — the deference to authority which a Christian teacher should always display; — and the avoiding of all such topics as “serve a temporal end,” or blend “a design of state” with religion.

But for these I must refer my readers to the discourses themselves, convinced that I shall be well entitled to their thanks, if I have now first introduced them to their notice. I have, indeed, been the more exact in noticing their single error, on account of their numerous excellencies, and because I was unwilling that a misapprehension of so much importance should pass current under the authority of such a writer, or that it should derogate from the utility of what I conceive to be one of his ablest and most useful compositions*.

Of the second class of his writings, namely, the Theological, the earliest in date is the Defence of Episcopacy, published in 1642, soon after the king's retirement to Oxford. In gracefulness of diction, in richness of imagery, and in that warmth and kindliness of feeling, which is in a great measure Taylor's peculiar characteristic, it is inferior, as might well be expected, to such of his writings as relate immediately to morals or devotion. It is

also less metaphysical, in the highest sense of the term, less distinguished by enlarged views of the human mind, and the limits between circumstantialia and essentials, than the Rule of Conscience or the Liberty of Propheying.

But it is, at least, a specimen of manly and moderate disputation; of a variety of learning, such as, even in that learned age, few other writers have brought to bear upon the same subject; and of a style vigorous and elastic, which, both in taste and energy, leaves far behind it the greater number of contemporary theologians, and only falls short of that which few, indeed, have equalled, the sustained and majestic harmony of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

Of the arguments, however, which he has advanced in favour of an institution which, through life, he regarded with more than common veneration, there are not many which strike me as new; and, in the few particulars where he has taken a different ground from that generally occupied by the assertors of episcopal government, I am not sure that he has been fortunate.

He sets out with asserting the absolute necessity that some form of church government should be found laid down in Scripture; an assertion of precisely the same kind with that which was maintained by the Puritans in the reign of Elizabeth, and which was so ably refuted by Hooker in the third book

of his immortal work already referred to. The reasons, indeed, on which Taylor rests his position are as unsound as the position itself is, *prima facie*, questionable. "If," he urges, "for our private actions and duties œconomical, they will pretend ~~a~~ text, I suppose it will not be thought possible Scripture should make default in assignation of the public government; insomuch as all laws intend the public and the general directly, the private and the particular by consequence only and comprehension within the general*."

But this argument, if it proves any thing, will prove too much, and will send us to our Bibles for the model not only of ecclesiastical but of civil regimen; inasmuch as the cases are both the same, and in both, the presumption, if there were any, would be equal, that the general good should be provided for before the individual. We find, however, in fact, that, while the duties of individuals are marked out, in both the Old and New Testament, in the broadest characters and with the most scrupulous care, those individuals are left entirely to themselves and the decision of their own reason, as to the manner in which they are to unite into nations or clans for mutual protection, and as to the persons and powers of those public functionaries whom they are to appoint as guardians of the gene-

* *Episcopacy Asserted*. sect. 1. vol. vii. p. 7.

ral happiness and deciders of private differences. The truth is, that, however we may deceive ourselves with the term of an imaginary public, whom we dress up in the attributes of a real personage, and to whom we ascribe, in common speech, an existence and an interest distinct from those individuals of whom it is, in fact, only the collective name, no wise lawgiver will attempt to separate public from private happiness and virtue, or expect to obtain an aggregate of prosperity any otherwise than by consulting the prosperity of those individuals, of whom that aggregate is made up. The moral laws, accordingly, (to which Taylor would hardly have denied a precedence over all other institutions,) not incidentally or mediately, but in the first instance, respect the conduct of individuals. And as all other laws, whether relating to forms of government or the internal regulations of society, are, in fact, modal and instrumental only, in order to the due discharge and observance of these higher and more holy obligations, it is reasonable that God, having taught us these last, should leave us, as, in nine instances out of ten, he has confessedly left us, to pursue, by such means as our human experience and natural faculties point out, the ends which his revelation has set before us.

But Taylor goes on to urge that, "if Christ himself did not take order for a government, then we must derive it from human prudence and

emergency of conveniences, and concourse of new circumstances; and then the government must often be changed, or else time must stand still, and things be ever in the same state and possibility. Both the consequents," he tells us, "are extremely full of inconvenience. For, if it be left to human prudence, then either the government of the church is not in immediate order to the good and benison of souls; or, if it be that such an institution, in such immediate order to eternity, should be dependent upon human prudence, it were to trust such a rich commodity in a cock-boat, that no wise pilot will be supposed to do. But, if there be often changes in government ecclesiastical, (which was the other consequent,) in the public frame, I mean, and constitution of it; either the certain infinity of schisms will arise, or the dangerous issues of public inconsistency and innovation, which, in matters of religion, is good for nothing but to make men distrust all; and, come the best that can come, there will be so many church governments as there are human prudences*."

In the first of these supposed consequences, Taylor assumes that "the government of the church is in *immediate* order to the good and benison of souls." But this is plainly untrue, since for this great end nothing more is *immediately* necessary

* Episcopacy Asserted, &c. 1. vol. vii. p. 7.

(speaking always in subordination to the merits and sacrifice of Christ,) but the sincere word of God, as delivered in Scripture, to enlighten and establish our *faith*, and the means of *grace*, which are afforded us in baptism and the Lord's supper. The government of the church is in *immediate* order to the faithful preaching of the truth and the decent and orderly ministration of the sacraments; but it is only through their means, and as a consequence of them, that it seeks the salvation of souls. It must rank, therefore, as Hooker wisely teaches, not among the points essential to salvation, but "those things that are accessary hereunto, those things that so belong to the way of salvation, as to alter them, is no otherwise to change that way than a path is changed by altering only the uppermost face thereof, which, be it laid with gravel, or set with grass, or paved with stones, remaineth still the same path*."

To his observation respecting the danger of frequent changes or schisms, or both, it may be answered, that the risk of these in religious affairs is not greater than of mutability or rebellion in civil; and that for both these, (even supposing us left to human prudence and experience as our only guides in framing our polity,) our natural caution and our natural respect for authority are, as well

* Eccles~~a~~ Polity, lib. iii. sect. 8.

as our Christian prudence and Christian charity, the proper and efficacious remedy. In the eagerness, indeed, of his argument, he does not stop with the enumeration of these probable inconveniences of the supposition which he deprecates, but pursues his consequence to an extent which would be subversive of all principles of human government, and leave no adequate means to preserve the peace of the world but a necessary tyranny or a direct theocracy. "If," he urges, "there be no opinion of religion, no derivation from a divine authority, there will be sure to be no obedience, and, indeed, nothing but a certain public, calamitous irregularity. For why should they obey? Not for conscience, for there is no derivation from divine authority. Not for fear, for they have not the power of the sword." Surely, when Taylor wrote thus, he had forgotten the apostolical precept, "Submit yourselves unto every ordinance of *man*, for the Lord's sake*!"

Though Christ, therefore, were admitted to have left no definite law for the manner in which his church was to be governed, and though episcopacy were allowed to stand on the single basis of human institution, there would be still abundant reason against hasty or needless change of such an institution on the part of sovereigns, as well as against

schism in particular persons, on this account, and from a church which exacted no unchristian terms of communion. But, it is certain that any positive institution of Christ, if really traced to him, is obligatory on the conscience of Christians; and, if Taylor had made good his second position, that our Lord, while on earth, appointed the two distinct offices of bishop and presbyter, no doubt could remain but that both of these would rest on the same foundation with that of those sacraments themselves, which all men allow to be immutable.

But here, too, the author, while attempting to prove too much, has assumed facts in which he is neither borne out by antiquity, nor the tenour of the Gospel history, when he finds in the apostles, during the abode of their Lord on earth, the first bishops, and in the seventy-two disciples whom Christ also selected from his followers, the first presbyters of his church*.

That the latter were appointed by Christ to any thing more than a temporary and occasional function, is doubted by a writer not inferior to Taylor either in judgment or learning, — and inferior to none in his ardent devotion to the primitive institution of episcopacy, — the wise and excellent Hammond†. That the office which they filled, even

* Luke, x. 1.

† Hammond, Diss. 3. De omnibus Evangeliorum pericliis, cap. i. sect. 6. Op. t. iv. p. ~~265~~ ²⁶⁶ ib. cap. v. sect. 5; cap. vi. sect. 1.

supposing it to be permanent, answered to the presbyterate, is opposed by the tradition of the church, preserved by Epiphanius (and which Taylor unsuccessfully endeavours to reconcile with his own opinion), that from their number the seven *Deacons* (or some of them at least), were afterwards selected*. And it is opposed, above all, by the fact, that if the Seventy had been made presbyters by Christ, they would have been the equals, at least, if not the superiors, of the Apostles themselves; whose priesthood, probably, and certainly their episcopacy, dates only from the time when their Divine Master sent them forth, with the Holy Ghost for their seal, from Mount Olivet, after his resurrection†.

That the apostles, thus left in charge of the faithful, thus commissioned by Christ, and thus guided by the Paraclete, delegated to three different orders of men, distinct and different portions of the authority which they had themselves received; that they

* Epiphanius *Hæres.* lib. i. t. 1. Op. vol. i. p. 50.

† Some of the Romanists have, indeed, a strange fancy that Christ made the apostles priests when he instituted the eucharist. Boileau de præcept. Div. Comm. in utraque specie, p. 189. "Creavit et instituit sacerdotes his vobis, 'Hoc facite.'" — This notion is, however, justly reproved by Estius, *Dist.* xii. sect. 11, and Alphonsus a Castro; *contr. Hæreses*, tit. Euch. p. 99. In general, all Christians agree to find the ordination of the apostles in Matt. xxviii. 18, and in John xx. 22. See what Taylor himself says in his *Ductor Dubitantium* vol. xiii. p. 19, et seq.

ordained in different parts of the world apostles or bishops like themselves; elders to act in subordination to those bishops, and deacons to assist those elders,—the author, in what follows, has, indeed, satisfactorily established. And it is plain, that not only is the fact that episcopacy was instituted by the followers of Christ and the possessors of the Holy Spirit, sufficient to prove it neither an irrational nor unchristian form of polity, but that a very great and evident necessity must be shewn, before any human hand can be authorised to pull down or alter a fabric erected under such auspices.

This, and this only, is the strong, and, if I may be allowed the expression, the impregnable ground of the episcopal scheme, and of Taylor's defence of it. It is not as thinking lightly of the advantages of that scheme, nor as underrating its real authority; far less is it as desiring to detract from the reputation of an author, whom none can read without delight and improvement, that I have ventured these few remarks on argument to which he himself has appeared to ascribe an undue degree of value. But I have done it to prevent other champions in the same good cause, from being induced to commit the same error, and to shew how needless it is to have recourse to doubtful or inapplicable proofs and presumptions, when, in an universal and apostolical tradition, every proof is contained, which can be, in such a case, desired or expected.—And, though I

am far from confounding the relative value of institutions immediately authorised by Christ, immediately tending to the salvation of souls, or of visible and universal advantage to them, with those which chiefly respect ecclesiastical order,—it can hardly, I think, be denied that those churches are wisest who retain episcopacy; those sectaries least excusable who dissent from it; and that the authority of apostolical tradition cannot be reasonably rejected in this case, without endangering many other observances of Christianity, which are almost universally accounted essentials.—With some qualification as to the case of infant baptism, in favour of which there is something very like a positive command of Christ, and respecting the Scripture proofs of which Taylor himself afterwards thought more reverently, the passage which follows, is well worthy the serious consideration of all who thoughtlessly or conscientiously impugn episcopacy.

“The sum is this. Although we had not proved the immediate divine institution of episcopal power over presbyters, and the whole flock, yet episcopacy is not less than an apostolical ordinance, and delivered to us by the same authority that the observation of the Lord’s day is. For, for that in the New Testament we have no precept, and nothing but the example of the primitive disciples meeting in their synaxes upon that day (and so also they did on the Saturday in the Jewish synagogues), but yet (how-

ever, that at Geneva, they were once in meditation to have changed it into a Thursday meeting, to have shewn their Christian liberty), we should think strangely of those men that called the Sunday festival less than an apostolical ordinance, and necessary now to be kept holy with such observances as the church hath appointed.

“ Baptism of infants is most certainly a holy and charitable ordinance, and of ordinary necessity to all that ever cried, and yet the church hath founded this rite upon the tradition of the apostles; and wise men do easily observe that the Anabaptist can by the same probability of Scripture, enforce a necessity of communicating infants upon us, as we do of baptizing infants upon them, if we speak of immediate divine institution, or of practice apostolical recorded in Scripture; and, therefore, a great master of Geneva, in a book he writ against the Anabaptists, was forced to fly to apostolical traditive ordination. And therefore the institution of bishops must be served first, as having fairer plea, and clearer evidence in Scripture, than the baptizing of infants; and yet, they that deny this, are, by the just anathema of the catholic church, confidently condemned for heretics.

“ Of the same consideration are diverse other things in Christianity, as the presbyter's consecrating the eucharist: for if the apostles in the first institution did represent the whole church, clergy and laity,

when Christ said, '*Hoc facite*,'—'do this,' then why may not every Christian man there represented, do that which the apostles in the name of all were commanded to do?—If the apostles did not represent the whole church, why then do all communicate?—Or, what place or intimation of Christ's saying is there, in all the four gospels, limiting '*hoc facite*,' *id est*, '*benedicite*,' to the clergy, and extending '*hoc facite*,' *id est*, '*accipite et manducate*,' to the laity? This also rests upon the practice apostolical and traditive interpretation of holy church, and yet cannot be denied that so it ought to be, of any man that would not have his Christendom suspected.

“ To these I add the communion of women; the distinction of books apocryphal from canonical; that such books were written by such evangelists and apostles; the whole tradition of Scripture itself; the apostles' creed; the feast of Easter (which, amongst all them that cry up the Sunday festival for a divine institution, must needs prevail as *caput institutionis*, it being that for which the Sunday is commemorated). These, and divers others of greater consequence (which I dare not specify for fear of being misunderstood), rely but upon equal faith with this of episcopacy (though I should waive all the arguments for immediate divine ordinance); and therefore it is but reasonable it should be ranked among the *credenda* of Christianity, which the church hath entertained, on the confidence of that which

we call *the faith of a Christian*, whose Master is truth itself*.”

On the remainder of Taylor's argument, a very few observations are sufficient.—He obviates, with much skill and learning, in his twenty-first section, the objection against the sole jurisdiction of the bishop, which is taken from an expression of Jerome, and discriminates between the separate functions and dignities of bishops and presbyters, whether these last are spoken of singly, or as assembled in diocesan councils. He solves that which is sometimes urged, from the indiscriminate manner in which, in the earliest times, the terms bishop and presbyter were sometimes applied, and defines the power and dignity of the ancient officer who was called “Chorepiscopus.”—He then enlarges on the authority, influence, and honour, possessed by bishops in elder times; on the extent of their dioceses, and the allegiance paid them by their clergy; and concludes with proving, against the Church Polity of Calvin, that at no period of antiquity did laymen hold office in the church.

On the general style and spirit of this treatise I have already spoken, and the specimen which I have given may afford the reader a sufficient idea of both. The care is, however, worthy of notice, with which Taylor had already begun to guard against any

* Episcopacy Asserted, sect. 19. vol. vii. p. 74.

thing which might sanction persecution, and which has led him, in two different places of his present work, to deny to the church the right of employing any but ecclesiastical censures. This denial is, as we have seen, employed by him as an argument for the necessity of an immediate divine commission to the episcopacy, and he expresses himself still more strongly in sect. 35.

“As no human power can disrobe the church of the power of excommunication, so no human power can invest the church with a lay compulsory. For, if the church be not capable of a ‘*jus gladii*,’ as most certainly she is not, the church cannot receive power to put men to death, or to inflict lesser pains in order to it, or any thing above a salutary penance.”——“Her censure she may inflict upon her delinquent children without asking leave. Christ is her *averría* for that; he is her warrant and security. The other [the power of secular punishment] is begged or borrowed, none of her own, nor of a fit edge to be used in her abscisions and coercions.”

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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